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தனிநாயகம் அடிகளார்



உலகத் தமிழாராய்ச்சி நிறுவனம்

International Institute of Tamil Studies



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உலகத் தமிழாராய்ச்சி நிறுவனம்

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அணிந்துரை

காலத்தால் உருவாகியும் வளர்ந்தும் முதிர்ந்தும் மொழிகளுக்கெல்லாம் மூத்த மொழியாக இருப்பது தமிழ்மொழி, எனினும் அதன் இளமையையும் எளிமையையும் தெளிவையும், இனிமையையும் உலகறியச் செய்ய முனைப்புடன் செயல்பட்ட அறிஞர் பெருமக்கள் பலர். அவர்களுள் "திறமான புலமையெனில் வெளிநாட்டார் அதை வணக்கம் செய்தல் வேண்டும்" என்ற மகாகவியின் மந்திர மொழிக்கேற்பத் தமிழ்மொழியின் பெருமையை உலகமெலாம் பரவச் செய்த பெருமக்களுள் தவத்திரு **தனிநாயக அடிகளாரும்** ஒருவர். அவர் உலக நாடுகளுக்கெல்லாம் தாமே தூதாகச் சென்று தமிழின் பெருமையை, தமிழனின் அருமையை, தமிழ்நாட்டின் தனித்தன்மையை எடுத்துக் கூறித் தமிழின் உயர்மொழிப் பண்பை உலகறியச் செய்தவர். உலகத்தமிழ் ஆராய்ச்சி நிறுவனம் தோன்றக் காரணமானவர்.

உலகத் தமிழாராய்ச்சி மாநாடுகள் காணச் செய்தவர். ஈழத்தில் 02.08.1913இல் நாகநாத கணபதி பிள்ளைக்கும் (ஹென்றி ஸ்தனிஸ்லாஸ்) சிசில் இராசம்மா வஸ்தியா பிள்ளைக்கும் திருமகனாகத் தோன்றியவர். உலகெங்கும் சென்று உயர்தமிழுக்கு உரிய பெருமை கிடைக்கப் பாடுபட்டவர்.

தவத்திரு தனிநாயக அடிகளார் உலக நாடுகளுக்குச் சென்று தமிழ்மொழியின், தமிழ் இனத்தின் பெருமையை

உலகறியச் செய்தபோது ஆய்வாளர்களும் தமிழ் ஆர்வலர்களும் தமிழ் ஆராய்ச்சி இதழொன்று ஆங்கிலத்தில் வெளியிட வேண்டும் என்ற கருத்தினை அவரிடம் தெரிவித்தார்கள்.

அதன் பயனாக உலக நாடுகளில் பணியாற்றிவரும் தமிழறிஞர்களை ஒருங்கிணைத்துத் தமிழாராய்ச்சியை ஒருமுகப்படுத்தவும், வளப்படுத்தவும் 1952இல் Tamil Culture என்னும் முத்திங்கள் இதழை அடிகளார் தொடங்கினார். அவ் இதழில் தமிழ்ப்பண்பாடு, தமிழர் கல்விநிலை, தமிழர்களின் சிந்தனைச் செழுமை பற்றிய கட்டுரைகளைச் சமகால மேலைநாட்டு இலக்கியத் திறனாய்வுக் கோட்பாடுகளுக்கேற்ப அடிகளார் எழுதினார். மேலும் பல மேநாட்டறிஞர்களின் கட்டுரைகளையும் இடம்பெறச் செய்தார். அவருடைய நூற்றாண்டு விழா, **மாண்புமிகு முதலமைச்சர் புரட்சித் தலைவி அம்மா** அவர்களின் மேலான ஆணைப்படி தமிழ்நாடு அரசின் சார்பில் உலகத் தமிழாராய்ச்சி நிறுவனத்தில் சிறப்பாக நடத்தப்பட்டது. அவர் தொடர்புடைய நூல்கள் வெளியிடப்பட்டு அவரது தமிழ்ப்பணி போற்றப்பட்டது.

தவத்திரு தனிநாயக அடிகளாரை ஆசிரியராகக் கொண்டு 1952 ஆம் ஆண்டு முதல் முத்திங்களிதழாக Tamil Culture என்னும் இதழ் வெளிவந்தது. இவ்விதழின் தொகுப்புகள் இன்று உங்கள் கரங்களில் தவழ்கின்றன.

இவ்விதழ்கள் தமிழ்த் தொண்டு பரவுசீர்க் கருத்துக் கருவூலங்கள்; காலங் காலமாக நாடெங்கும் ஒளிவீசக் கூடியவைகள்; அருகிவரும் தமிழாய்வுக் களங்களுக்கு கலங்கரை விளக்கொளிகள்; அரிதின் முயன்று அன்னைத் தமிழ் வளர்த்த தவத்திரு தனிநாயக அடிகளாரின் Tamil Culture முத்திங்கள் இதழ்களை ஆண்டுவாரியாக ஒன்றுதிரட்டித் தொகுப்பு நூல்களாக வெளியிடப்படுகின்றன.

தமிழறிஞர்களின் தமிழ்த் தொண்டினை எப்போதும் பாராட்டுவதில் முதன்மையானவர் **மாண்புமிகு தமிழ்நாடு முதலமைச்சர் புரட்சித் தலைவி அம்மா** அவர்கள் ஆவார். மாண்புமிகு அம்மா அவர்கள் தமிழ் மீதும் தமிழர் மீதும் தமிழ்நாட்டின் மீதும் தமிழ்ப் பண்பாட்டின் மீதும்

கொண்டுள்ள அன்பும் கருணையும் அளப்பரியன. ஆதலால், இவற்றின் மேம்பாட்டுக்கெனப் பல திட்டங்களை மேற்கொண்டு வருகின்றார்கள். ஒல்லும் வகையெல்லாம் தமிழ் வளர்த்து வரும் **மாண்புமிகு தமிழ்நாடு முதலமைச்சர் புரட்சித்தலைவி அம்மா** அவர்களுக்கு உலகத் தமிழாராய்ச்சி நிறுவனத்தின் சார்பில் நன்றிகளைப் பதிவு செய்கின்றேன்.

தமிழ் மொழி வளர்ச்சிக்கு ஆக்கமும் ஊக்கமும் அளித்துவரும் மாண்புமிகு தமிழ் ஆட்சிமொழி, தமிழ்ப் பண்பாட்டுத் துறை, தொல்லியல் துறை (ம) பள்ளிக் கல்வித் துறை அமைச்சர் கே. சி. வீரமணி அவர்களுக்கும் நன்றி.

தமிழ் வளர்ச்சிப் பணிகளில் ஆர்வத்தோடு நாட்டம் செலுத்தித் தமிழ்த் தொண்டாற்றிவரும் தமிழ்வளர்ச்சி மற்றும் செய்தித்துறைச் செயலாளர் முனைவர் மூ.இராசாராம் இ.ஆ.ப. அவர்களுக்கும் இதயம் கனிந்த நன்றியினைத் தெரிவித்துக் கொள்கிறேன்.

இந்நூல் சிறப்பான முறையில் மறு அச்சுப் பெற முனைந்து உழைத்த உலகத் தமிழாராய்ச்சி நிறுவன அனைத்துப் பணியாளர்களுக்கும் அச்சகத்தார்க்கும் என் நன்றி.

இயக்குநர்

(See inside page of back cover for names of the Governing Council)

Corrections to the article 'ANCIENT TAMIL MUSIC' appearing in Vol. VII. No. 1 January 1958.

ERRATA

Page *36* line *18*

(1) *For* 'the very life of the worship of the God'

Read 'the very life of the people and it was impossible to dispense with them without detriment to their culture. Thus for the cultural development of each region music and rhythm were considered as indispensable as the worship of the Gods.

(2) *For* the last sentence of the article

Read 'There were thus a fertile soil and a congenial climate in which the twin arts of music and dance flourished and attained their full growth at the time of Tholkappiam.'

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The Philosophic stage of development in Sangam Literature

XAVIER S. THANI NAYAGAM

THE SOCIAL SETTING

The influence of the poet-educator tradition is contained not only in the Sangam anthologies but is also implied in numerous references and legends conserved in post-Sangam literature.[1] One of the most persistent of these centres around the *Sangams* or Poetic Academies, which existed from very ancient times, and which admitted to membership Tamil poets of distinction and set the stamp of collective approval on literary works. The earliest detailed account of three successive Academies functioning over long eras, and each academic period including several generations of poets, occurs in a work compiled about the tenth century B.C.,[2] and the antiquity, duration and number of poets attributed to each Academic period seem so fanciful and so reminiscent of the Jain passion for numbers that the veracity of the details of the tradition and the tradition itself has been questioned by scholars.[3] That there were regular assemblies of poets during the poetic period, that their compositions oral or written were in circulation, and that they were known by their compositions and fame even when not known by personal acquaintance, and that the poets met at royal courts is clear from the poems.[3a] The Academy tradition, which

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1 Regarding Sangam and post-Sangam literature, see S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, *Ancient India and South Indian History and Culture*, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 577 ff.

2 *Irayanar Ahapporul.*

3 Three Academies are commonly mentioned; the first lasting 4,440 years, the second for 3,700 years and the third for 1,850 years. The Third Academy would have ended circa 200 A.D.

3(a) *Puram.*, 39, 8, 58, 9, 266, 8-9.

is so persistent in later Tamil literature, is an indication of a core of historical truth around which has grown a mass of legendary embellishment. The Academy tradition in Tamil is one of the earliest references to a normative literary body among a people.

The transition from the period in which the poet is the prominent educator of society to the period in which the philosopher becomes the prominent educator is gradual. It is hardly necessary to remind the reader that these stages overlap and are named after the most prominent and distinctive educator-type of a certain period, and that the prominence of one type during a specific period does not exclude the functional activities of the rest during the same period. The shaman, the bard, the poet and the philosopher are always present in society, but the fourth stage of development, which is portrayed in this article, brings to the fore the philosopher, both religious and secular.[4]

The bard and much more the poet, by the metaphysical abstractions involved in ideals such as *aretē, puhal, mānam* (glory, honour), *ṛta, dharma* and *aram* (cosmic and moral order, righteousness), and by constant references to moral and ethical problems of justice and honesty and exhortations to bravery, kindness and generosity have initiated the steps leading to formal philosophy. The intuitive insight of the poet now gives place to the organising wisdom of the philosopher, the humanist philosopher who believes in his self-sufficiency, and the religious philosopher who elaborates on a doctrine he claims to have been revealed, or which has been handed down by a tradition to which he gives the reverence that another gives to a revelation. For even revelation, which has originated with the

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[4] See MORRIS GINSBERG, *On the Diversity of Morals*, Essay on *The Concept of Evolution in Sociology*, p. 182:

"It is clear that there is no single order of development nor can any given form of an institution be invariably correlated with a determinate stage or phase of culture taken as a whole".

shaman and his priestly-prophetic role, undergoes a philosophic "processing" and rendering at a certain stage of religious development.[5]

The social configuration within which the philosopher emerges is the City, and often in island and peninsular countries like the Tamil kingdoms a harbour-city or a king's capital. It is so in the urban milieu traced in the Jain and Buddhist sources; it is equally verified in the Athens and the Corinth of the Greek philosophic movement, and in the Kaverippaṭṭinam, Kūdal (Madurai), Vanci and Kānci of the "epic period" as the *Silappatikāram-Maṇimēkalai* epoch is commonly known in the history of Tamil literature. The descriptions of a chess-board development of a city-plan and of the *quartiēres* occupied by various trades and professions, the day market-place and the night market-place, the multi-lingual residences of foreign merchants, the quays heaped with exports and imports stamped with the Customs seal, the multitude of ships riding at anchor, the well-lit roads at night, the various temples, monasteries and preaching rostra of a multi-religious population and the assembly halls are common features of any large city in which culture-contacts resulting from a plural society occasion the creativity and the stir of the spirit.[6]

> "As in festivals many and diverse groups mingle together, so people speaking different tongues who have left their own countries live here in harmony".[6a]

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5 CHRISTOPHER DAWSON, *Religion and Culture*, op. cit., p. 43: "The continuity between the primitive tradition of divination and shamanism and the higher developments of philosophic thought is to be seen even in Greek philosophy with Empedocles and the Pythagoreans — not to mention the daemon of Socrates — and in the Eastern religions the connection is still closer and more unmistakable". See
JOACHIM WACHS, *The Sociology of Religion*, op. cit.

6 *Silap.*, V, 7-58; *Mani.*, XXVIII, 29-68.

6 (a) *Pattinappalai* 214-217.

The monarch and his subjects are conscious of a " sense of empire ", sometimes territorial, often commercial,[7] and the new exigencies of statecraft and citizenship demand not panegyrics with incidental moralising, but specialised treatises on social and individual problems cast in the mould of cryptic, condensed verse to be easily memorised and thus become common property, or personified and hypostatised in the dramatic characters of literary and polemical epics so as to be presented as types for imitation or rejection.[8]

Lewis Mumford's lyrical description of city life is valid for any city of antiquity :

> " Through its complex orchestration of time and space, no less than through the social division of labour, life in the city takes on the character of a symphony : specialised human aptitudes, specialised instruments, give rise to sonorous results which, neither in volume nor in quality, could be achieved by any single piece ".[9]

The Tamil poet who, probably because of an earlier tradition, retained a fascination for a city-culture thought himself as paying the highest compliment to woman when he called her literally " cultured as a city " meaning that she was as abundant, as resourceful and as symphonic in being a source of a total enrichment of personality.[10] For in the city were found the means and measures of intellectual and emotional development, the philosopher disputing in the market place, the preacher in his rostrum, the ritual in the temple, music and dance in the public hall by virtuosi, and other fair sights and sounds.[11] Occupational specialisation has been so developed as a result of the new urban economy that there are more occupational groups in one

[7] *Ibid.*, 185-193 ; See third part of *Silap.*
[8] Both *Silap* and *Mani* may be considered didactic poems.
[9] *Culture of Cities, Introduction;* See also GRIFFITH TAYLOR, *Urban Geography*, Second edition, Methuen, London, 1951.
F. HAVERFIELD, *Ancient Town Planning*, Oxford, 1953.
[10] The explanation given by commentators. See XAVIER S. THANI NAYAGAM, *Nature in Ancient Tamil Poetry*, p. 169 f.
[11] *Silap.*, V ; *Pattinappalai*, 155 ff ; Mani., I.

single city than might have been found in an entire kingdom served by a simple agrarian economy.[12] There is a considerable foreign element in the city besides those whose interests are mercantile and naval; foreign soldiers from the Roman Empire keep guard in the city and the palace, the war camp and the city defences, and "skilled artisans from Magadha, mechanics from Marātam, smiths from Avanti and Yavana carpenters" contribute to the foreign architectural and other artistic influences which are among the imports due to foreign trade and conquests.[13]

The culture of the city guarantees the democratisation of Education and the Arts and shifts the scene of culture and art from the palace to the houses of merchant princes, the temples and monasteries and the forum and the market place. It creates men of culture and taste even among non-professionals. Kōvalan, the hero in the *Silappatikāram* is a merchant prince, but his accomplishments are more than mercantile; he is a composer of impromptu lyrics of great beauty and a skilful player on the lute who finds music a solace to him at a time of distress.[14] Music and dance are no more the exclusive property of the bard and his troupe. The entertainment which is at a popular level in the village becomes formal and highly technicalised in the city. Music and dance are cultivated by professionals and they have become subjects of formal scientific study. Mātavi, the professional danseuse, begins learning her art at the age of five under a consummate master skilled in dance and poetry and drama. Her first public appearance after a seven-year course of intense training is on a stage which conforms to long established norms, and professional musicians, each a master in his own instrument, are the members of her accompanying orchestra.[15] Modern scholars are unable to explain the highly technical data and musical learning incidentally furnished about

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12 *Silap.*, V.
13 *Mani.*, XIX, 107-109; *Silap.*, V, 99-110.
14 *Silap.*, XIII, 102-114.
15 *Silap.*, III.

Tamil dance and music in the "epic-period". One critic has asserted that Equal Temperament, said to be found by Hayden in the eighteenth century, was no secret to the Tamil musicians of the *Silappatikāram* epoch.[16] The professional danseuse, who now belongs to a courtesan class, and the professional musician acquire by no means a reputation for moral behaviour.[16a]

The democratisation is apparent not only in the Fine Arts but even more so in the teaching of religion and philosophy. The different secular and religious philosophies at this epoch appear as full and well-developed systems in the local cultural and language matrix. The twenty-seventh canto of *Maṇimēkalai* contains the exposition of all the Indian systems of philosophy and religion, those originating in the Vedas and those originating outside of it.[17] These systems are propagated by philosopher teachers not only in esoteric gatherings but also in the market place and the public square after the fashion of the Agora, the forum and Hyde Park Corner. Each philosophic school has its own banner which it flies above the booth of its representatives.[18] They hold disputations in the market place and these disputations, expositions and Purānic and bardic recitations are special attractions at the time of the great annual festivals. In the Cōḷa capital, Puhār, the annual festival in honour of Indra which lasted a month was held to be an occasion for such religious and philosophical exposition. The herald in *Maṇimēkalai* when announcing Indra's festival includes:

> "Let those who teach philosophy, politics, logic and religion not leave the city .... Let those well-versed in ethical lore take their place under awnings or in cano-

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16 See M. ABRAHAM PANDITHAR, *Karunamrtasagaram*, Madras, 1917.

BERYL DE ZOETE, *The other Mind*, Gollanz, London, 1952.

16 (a) *Mani.*, XVIII, 107 ff.

17 See S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, *Manimekhalai and its Historical Setting*, pp. 54-107, Luzac and Company, London, 1927.

ID., *The Buddhism of Manimekhalai* in *Buddhistic Studies* (Ed. B. C. LAW), Thacker, Calcutta, 1931.

18 *Pattinappalai*, 170 ff; Cf. *Maduraikanci*, 370 ff.

> pied halls. Let those well-versed in religious lore assemble in the halls of learning set apart for discussions ".[19]

These philosopher-teachers, especially the religious philosophers, are found visiting important cities of the Tamil country like Kānci, Uraiyūr, Madurai and Vanci, and are also found preaching or on pilgrimage outside the Tamil country in oversea territory. Aṟavaṇa Adigal, the Buddhist philosopher, is found at Kaverippaṭṭinam, Kānci and Vanci, at Maṇipallavam and in Northern India.[20] Kavunti Adikal, the Jain ascetic, accompanies Kōvalan and Kaṇṇaki from Kaverippaṭṭinam to Madurai iṇ order to listen to the teachings of the great ascetics.[21] In the Jain and the Buddhist Tamil books, the preachers of the Dharma (Dharma-Cāranas) course through the heavens and land on earth at will to impart instruction. Manimēkalai, the Buddhist heroiṇe, and other preachers are thus granted the boon of space-travel and thus they are able to impart their teachings in different cities of the Tamil country and in other countries which they visit.[22] The *Manimēkalai* gives grounds to the inference that strong religious contacts were established between Tamil India on the one hand and Ceylon, Java and other lands and islands bordering the Bay of Bengal just as the Silappatikāram mentions commercial contacts. This inferenṇce is confirmed by the similarity of the cave inscriptions in Ceylon and South India, and by the history of the Dhammarucci sect at the Abhayagiri monastery, and the relations between the Buddhist monks of the Cōḷa country and the Buddhist monks of Anuradhapura.[23] It is during this epoch that Kaverippaṭṭinam, Uraiyūr, Madurai, Kānci and Vanci become strong centres of the religions which originated in Northern

19 *Mani.*, I, 10-14., 58-64.
20 E.g., *Mani* XIV, 95 ff.
21 *Silap.*, X, 56-57.
22 See references to *Dharmacaranas*; *Silap*, X, 162; *Mani*, XXIV, 46-47.
23 E.g., *Mahavamsa*, XXXVI, 111 ff. See WALPOLA RAHULA, *History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, op. cit., p. 84 ff.

India. Kānci (Conjeevaram) especially, is important in the history of the spread of Tamil Buddhism in foreign countries.[24]

The Humanist Codex

The secular humanism which was the characteristic note of the poetic period finds in the philosophic period a developed and codified, though cryptic, expression in the gnomic poetry of the *Tirukkural*. It is a work of one thousand three hundred and thirty couplets of gnomic verse, and not all the verses or the distribution of the verses into parts, chapters and appendices is to be attributed to the chief author. It is likely that it is not an anthology, but it is equally likely that it has been edited and interpolated in order to make it more conformable to patterns of *āsramas* (stages of life), renunciation and asceticism introduced by religions originating in Northern India. In its substance and in its distinctive ideals and patterns of thought it may be taken to contain the quintessence of the Tamil secular, humanistic thought which developed out of the poetic period.

Every non-Tamil who has been introduced to this book of maxims has attributed to it a unique place in world literature. The earliest record of a non-Indian use of this classic is to be found in Fernao de Queyroz's *Conquest of Ceylon* in which the Franciscan missionary, Fra Joam de Vila Conde, in a religious debate at the court of Bhuvanaika Bahu of Kotte, Ceylon, (1521-1551) cites the *Tirukkural* in support of the doctrines which he preaches.[25] The Italian literary genius and Jesuit missionary, Guiseppe

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[24] CHARLES ELIOT, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, op. cit., Vol., III, p. 5 ff.
M. S. VENKADASAMY, *Buddhism and Tamil*, op. cit., p. 25 ff.
C. NARAYANA RAO, *The Brahmi Inscriptions of South India*, N.I.A., Vol., I, (1938-39) pp. 362-376.

[25] FERNAO DE QUEYROZ, *The Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon*, Colombo Government Press, 1930, Book II, p. 241:
"Read one of the books you have, which you have maliciously hidden, composed by Valuer, a native of Melipur and a contemporary of St. Thomas. There you will find the union of the Trinity, the Incarnation of the Son, the Redemption of Man, the

Costanzio Beschi (d. 1742), translated a major portion of the Tamil classic into Latin and compared it to the maxims of Senecca. After Beschi, it has been translated in whole or in part into the chief European languages.[26] Dr. Albert Schweitzer is perhaps the best-known among those who have invited the attention of scholars to this work, of which he says :

> " There hardly exists in the literature of the world a collection of maxims in which we find such lofty wisdom ".[27]

Dr. Pope had said earlier of the work :

> " Something of the same kind is found in Greek epigrams, in Martial and Latin elegiac verse. There is a beauty in the periodic character of the verses that reminds the reader of the happiest efforts of Propertius ".[28]

The *Tirukkural* has been compared with other books of gnomic verse but not always with justification. It has been compared with the *Dhammapāda,* but the comparison is valid only for those verses which treat of asceticism and renunciation and certain ethical norms. The *Dhammapāda's* central themes are the monastic way of life, the extinction of desire and the realisation of *Nirvāna,* but the *Tirukkural* is primarily a codex of social ethics and wisdom for a married man in the world. Its portions dealing with statecraft have been compared with Kauṭilya, and the resemblances are more due to the identity of topics which are

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cause of his fall, the remedy for his faults and miseries and finally the preservation of his state ".

The passage is quoted because of its missiological interest and not for its scholastic accuracy.

26 See Dr. G. U. POPE, *The Sacred Kural*, Oxford University Press, London, 1886.

G. DE BRRIGUE DE FOINTENAU, *Le Livre de L'Amour de Tirouvalluva*, Paris, 1889.

KARL GRAUL, *Der Kural des Tiruvalluvar*, Leipzig, 1856 (Latin and German translations).

W.H. DREW, *The Kural of Tiruvalluvar.*

27 ALBERT SCHWEITZER, *Indian Thought and its Development*, op. cit., pp. 200-205.

28 G. U. POPE. *The Sacred Kural*, op. cit., p. VI.

B. C. LAW, *Tirukkural et Dhammapada* in *Journal Asiatique*, 1952, p. 37 ff.

treated than to direct borrowing. However, the author of the *Tirukkural* seems to have been very familiar with the religious and secular literature of his day in the Tamil, Sanskrit and Pāli works. Hence parallel passages found in other books and modes of expression and allusions have led critics to attribute different religious origins to the author. Atheists and agnostics have claimed the *Tirukkural* as their own book; Hindu schools of thought have claimed that the *Tirukkural* is the codex of their particular way of life; Jains and Buddhists have each claimed the book as their own, and Christian scholars have seen in it traces of the influence of primitive Christianity in the Tamil country and of the teachings of St. Thomas the Apostle who is said to have lived in Mylapore, the locality where Tiruvaḷḷuvar, the author, is also said to have lived.[29] None of these conflicting claims can be sustained though every one of them may find certain verses in its support. They are another witness to the non-confessional nature, universality of outlook and the humanistic appeal of this classic. With the exception of the ascetic and non-killing ideals propounded in the book, the major and significant elements of its thought are to be traced to the Sangam anthologies.

The gnomic verse was in Ancient India the literary technique even of philosophy, and the wisdom of centuries was consigned to cryptic verses in order to aid the memory. Thus where Plato may have written a dialogue or Aristotle and Quintilian a treatise, the Indian teacher composed a few mnemonic verses and expounded them orally so that listening to instruction (sruti, kēḷvi) became the more important aspect of formal education. The *Tirukkural* is both retrospective and prospective in its contents; it reflects the knowledge and wisdom of its period, but is also original in its daring flashes of genius and intuition, and a number of verses are surprising in their modernity and universality.

[29] See note 25 above and G. U. POPE, *The Sacred Kural*, op. cit.

> Because of Humanists that this world exists
> Else one would have to bury oneself in the earth. (996)

Or consider the following distichs:

> The promise of piles of millions would never make
> The truly noble do a degrading deed. (954)
> The world worships the lustre of those
> Who would rather die than have their Honour blemished. (970)
> Of what avail is Wisdom if it does not render good
> Even to those who have done evil. (978)
> If the Wise were to grow less in their Wisdom
> The Earth itself would be unable to bear its burden. (990)
> Vile Persons are equal to the Gods
> Because they also act as they please. (1073)

Here is a couplet which says that education is a life-long process because many are the countries and peoples about whom knowledge is possible:

> Since every town is one's own town, and every country is one's own country
> How can a man fail to learn until his death? (397)

And another speaks of the need for humour and laughter:

> To those without a sense of humour
> The World must indeed seem dark even amidst the blaze of noon. (999)

The *Tirukkural* is not a formal treatise on education but more a manual describing the ideals of an educated man, the virtues he should cultivate and the vices he should avoid in both public and private life. It conceives him as a member of a family, of a community and of the State and reflects on the aspects of his life as a lover, a husband, a parent, a friend, a citizen and a man of public affairs. There is a unity in the description of the Ideal Personality in the book.

The verses relating to learning and education and the prestige and duties of the learned are to be found not only in the decades on Learning, on Ignorance and on Listening to Teachers, but are scattered throughout the first two

parts of the book in decades entitled by redactors as Gift of Sons, Philosophic Intuition, Truth, Friendship, Honour, Glory, Greatness, Excellence, Public Speaking, Initiative, Little Learning and Humanism. The *Tirukkural* does not so much adopt the prescriptive and prohibitive language of religious gnomic verse; it adopts mostly a style of discursive reflection. It presupposes the existence of a society very advanced in its political and civic organisation, and takes for granted that formal education under competent teachers is in existence, and that formal instruction is the condition of self-realisation, of social ethics and civic success. The warrior outlook of the average citizen present in an earlier society is absent since a specialised army is maintained by the King for defence and conquest. The citizen has, therefore, greater opportunities to take to the arts of peace. The citizen is urged to lose himself in the pursuit of objectives which contain primarily a social reference. His children are his delight; hospitality and entertainment are almost the purpose of home-life, and liberality combined with sweetness and urbanity are the marks of gracious living.

Formal education consists in learning (kēḷvi) as well as "hearing instruction" from the lips of the learned, and in association with them. The content of formal education is "Letters and Numbers" which are compared to the two eyes with which the educated man looks upon the world, and are terms which today would be interpreted as Arts and Science and which, in the days of the author, implied the same categorisation but without the extensive semantic application they have today. (392) Those who are not "educated are blind" (393) and "the want of discernment which comes from want of learning" is of all wants the most pitiful. (841)

The primary aim of formal education and of home training is to make the Sāṉṟon or the Complete Man. The word, which in a warrior society meant a brave and consummate warrior, now stands for an *ideal* to be realised, a

man possessed of wisdom and learning who makes his contribution to happiness in the home, in the social community and in the State. A father's happiness consists in providing for an education which will make his son more learned than the father himself (68) and it is his duty to see that his son by his learning and his practical wisdom gains recognition in assemblies of learned men (67). The mother's joy on hearing that her son has qualified for such recognition is greater than the joy she experienced on knowing a man-child had been born to her (69). To have intelligent children is the greatest privilege a man can have, for all the world acclaims a parent that has given birth to a recognised "sānron" (61, 70).

The student is to study thoroughly (391) and philosophically understanding the essence of every problem (355), and is to examine with discernment and criticism what he hears, no matter the authority from which it comes (423). His scholastic achievement will be in proportion to his industry and application (396). At the same time he is to conduct himself with humility before his teachers like the needy who await gifts from the wealthy (395).

The advantages of learning are manifold. It overcomes class prejudice (409) ; it dispels the darkness of the mind and bestows happiness (352) ; it confers the friends, the wealth and the reputation without which life becomes dismal and insecure.

Thus through a great many aphoristic reflections, the *Tirukkural* instructs the ideal man that through learning, through instruction received from the learned and through association with them he should cultivate the highest ideals of service and altruism, hospitality, generosity and positive love, and do good for its own sake.[30]

> The loveless man takes everything for himself
> The man full of love — even his own bones belong to
> others. (72)

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30 ALBERT SCHWEITZER, *Indian Thought and its Development*, op. cit., p. 205.

Even though there is no other world it is still good to give. (222)
True liberality seeks no return
What return does the rain-cloud expect of the world? (211)

The ethics of the *Tirukkural* and the ideals of living proposed therein are all based upon instruction, initiation and reflection, and the author understands education as co-terminous with life. He defines and elaborates on the concepts and abstractions of a previous period like "glory" and "honour", which now shed their militaristic associations and assume an ethical and intellectual meaning and a universal value. He pursues the idea and the association of learning with light and brilliance and conceives ignorance as darkness (243, 299, 352, 410). "Red" appears to be the colour associated with goodness and learning, and "whiteness" symbolises ignorance and intellectual and moral bankruptcy. (358, 844)

The doctrines of karmic causality and rebirth are very explicit in the *Tirukkural*, and learning is said to be so effective that knowledge acquired during one birth carried its beneficial effects through future births. But even here the author, with an ethical background of "goodness for its own sake", suggests the continuity of the effects of knowledge through rebirth not as a motive and inducement for ethical excellence, but as the inevitable happy consequence of the ideal life. Giving birth to learned children results in a good life during the seven series of future births (62); the learning acquired during one birth accompanies a man through his series of future births (398); the folly which comes from want of learning may cause karmic evil consequences during the seven series of future births (835, 966).

The Complete Man, who is the ideal portrayed in the *Tirukkural*, is a man of public affairs such as the Sophists, Cicero and Quintilian portray[31]: the nobility of his birth

[31] See M. L. CLARKE, *Rhetoric at Rome*, Cohen and West, London, 1953.

and the unmistakable signs of a cultured family upbringing are not shown by his caste or occupation but by the nobility of his conduct, his ideals, his attitudes and traits (975, 973, 505). In a society in which oral speech was the predominant mode of communication in social, political and educational life, the book insists on the external marks of a mature personality, pleasant looks, pleasant inoffensive speech, tact, and on eloquence. Eloquence is indispensable to the men of learning, to messengers and ambassadors. A man is like a flower without fragrance if he cannot expose clearly to other men what he has learnt (650, 717). The *world rushes to listen to those who have* oratorical skill (648) ; and both wealth and righteousness are built up by the discreet use of language as a means of communication (644). A man's learning is of no avail if he cannot face audiences of learned or ignorant people.

> Thousands would die facing the enemy on the battle-field
> But few there are who would face an assembly. (723)
> What have cowards to do with swords ?
> What have those who fear subtle distinctions to do with Books ? (726)

The acquisition of wealth is important because poverty is of no help in the procuring of happiness in this life (247). Even learning loses its lustre and is rendered ineffective when accompanied by poverty (1046). Wealth and even conjugal love are but *means of attaining a perfection of* socialised behaviour so that through the enrichment of personality, which love and hospitality exercised because of wealth bring about, Man may lose himself in altruistic love and happiness (72, 81).

Educational and social thought in the *Tirukkural* would require a separate book to itself if it were to be considered under its philosophic, ethical, social and psychological aspects. It is not a metaphysical work ; it is concerned with practical aims, and the ideals it traces may be best compared to the practical ideals which Quintilian outlined in Rome about the same period.

Thiru T. V. K. - the Living

T. P. MEENAKSHI SUNDARAM

T. V. K. is no more with us. He was great, not in wealth or in power, but in knowledge and in the milk of human kindness; and yet he was like a child in the hands of his friends and followers. His acquaintances feel this personal loss. Presiding over meetings, he had encouraged many dumb men, so to say, to become seasoned orators; sitting in the editorial chair he had encouraged many a novice become, in the end, editors, by publishing in the beginning their maiden attempts even at the cost of forfeiting the security paid for his *Desabhaktan* under the Press Act. That was an age when Tamil was yet a vernacular, the language of the slaves; when the speakers thought it was beneath their dignity to talk or write in Tamil, when even lovers of Tamil felt a kind of nervousness in expressing themselves in Tamil, when the audience felt that the Pandits spoke above their heads.

It was good fortune that T. V.K. moved in all these circles and by his unobtrusive influence, encouragement, and example revolutionised this atmosphere. Many a modern poet, editor, labour-leader, politician and philosopher of Tamil Nad has confessed his debt to this departed great soul. All that, is the effect of his magnetic personality, his loving heart, his contagious learning—alas! no more to be experienced. It is the inevitable end of every life on this planet. His basic contributions to the growth and development in the Tamil land of the various modern movements of the National Indian Congress, of Labour, of Socialism, of cosmopolitanism, of religious reform, and of literary renaissance have all become eclipsed; he was, as it were, their seed and the nursling; but these have taken root so firmly, grown so high, and

spread so extensively, all through the Tamil land, that we see no more the seed or the nursling. All that, we saw when he was alive. Will his name live in Tamil literature in the sphere of immortality ? —that is a much more important question to the readers of *Tamil Culture.*

T. V. K. was a born orator and it was as such, that he helped the various movements to develop. His writings but hold up the mirror to his oratory. Some of his works had been first delivered as speeches and presidential addresses. In the last part of his life, the books and even his introductions were couched in the form of speeches or heart to heart talks ; thus he brought a refreshing extemporaneity to his speeches which were otherwise characterised by a uniformity and a system.

This is a new approach to prose—to write as we speak, not colloquially but elegantly, as on the platform. Only alliteration and assonance of poetic rhythm abounded in the prose of the earlier age. He himself wrote the life of his Tamil Teacher, Katirverpillai, in that florid style. I remember one striking caption ' Nīlagirikku ēki Nīlakanṭar āṉār '. But long-drawn sentences have no place in speech. The sentences in speech, become short and effective, forceful and living. There were other writers who preceded him in this attempt — an attempt which was inevitable when books had to be written to the school-going population. Publication of Tamil books was becoming a trade and the writers had to cater to the needs of the many who were not learned. There were others whose very instincts prompted them to write in their natural rhythm of simple prose ; and they brought clarity and sweetness ; but their writings lacked virility and force. Perhaps the subject matters discussed,—statements about literature, morals and religion—allowed, under the prevailing standard, no room for emotional outbursts, though in the debates carried on in writing, there was any amount of vituperation. There were certain attempts at exciting humour but they were vulgar. These writers could not reach the golden mean ;

they could be either colourless and serene, or vulgar and vituperative. The traces of the earlier prose were found in the, padding of the thoughts in a sentence with a series of 'enpatum' (என்பதும்) which sometimes retained the older form of the poetic prose 'enpatuum' (என்பதூஉம்) Even in T. V. K., the last part of a speech or writing summarising the whole speech, contains in the most appropriate way this much maligned word.

As an orator on the labour front, on the Congress platform, on the plank of social reform, he appeared as a firebrand, but all the same, as a dignified literary speaker who never played to the gallery. It was always a mystery to many critics, how he held his audience spell-bound, without any appeal to humour. He always appealed to higher and more sublime emotions. He could inspire us with a love for Nature, painting her in all her glories. He could arouse in us a righteous indignation against injustice. He could make us weep over the miseries of the poor. Sometimes, his speech, when analysed later in cold print, looked as ordinary statements of facts, made from a higher detached pedestal of learned Tamil. But, when first spoken, even those ordinary statements came with such a vigour and vitality that the audience felt a sort of communion with the speaker. His was not the oratory of a lawyer but the song of a feeling heart. He never acted the part of others; he always expressed himself. Every word came from the bottom of his heart with the colourful glow of his feelings. He was through and through, a man of feelings—not their slave but as an artist their master; this was very patent when he was on the platform. The beauty of his language is the ordered pattern of his feelings.

T. V. K. was nothing if not original, though he always harped on asserting that what he stated were all old truths of Tamil land—not a pretension but a sincere feeling of his. Satyagraha to him was as old as Appar; social reform was

as old as Tevaram and Cankam Poets. He was the man of the future but speaking to us as the apostle of the Golden past. This itself was indeed original—a new appeal to the orthodoxy which would have condemned the new as heterodoxy. It was not a revolution — a breaking away from the past but a return to the hoary past and sacred Nature. Communism when shorn of its materialism is but to be 'At the Feet of the Arhat'. His learning helped him to popularise modern views as ancient thought. Tamil literature thus ceased to be for the chosen few: it was brought to the market place, true to the principles of modern democracy.

His style reflects this originality; but the ancient words —like எற்றுக்கு 'eṟṟukku' அண்ணல் 'Aṇṇal'—live in his works. He is the master of the short sentences—one way of making easy the complicated thoughts. With the varying lengths of the short sentences he created a rhythm of his own. The sentences of the earlier prose become his paragraphs. These earlier sentences though having marks of rhythm such as alliteration, had no real rhythm but a kind of droning sometime appearing as strangling all rhythm. But the paragraph of T. V. K. has a rhythm of its own, a rhythm of his thought and feeling, a variation therein introducing a different paragraph. Paragraph construction thus becomes natural and simple without the necessity for any elaborate systematisation.

The short sentences lead to the creation of many telling phrases and a few catch words—rather epigrams, which are the very life of modern journalism of which, in the sense of an art, he was a pioneer himself. He never indulged in any slang. The Tamilian ear caught the natural music of its language. Kalki contrasted passages from journals written before and after the advent of T. V. K. It is not that he discarded Sanskrit words as such. He avoided all jargon and made the language living, by accepting the rhythm of the age. The rhythm of the language changes from age to age, as may be realised by reading

aloud the Cankam poems, Tevaram hymns, Kambar's stanzas, Tayumanavar's songs and Bharati's verses.

He had his own head lines. The modern slogans in Tamil were not of his making but were made possible by the trend of his prose. By keeping his language away from the quick sand of dead alliteration and the quagmire of fatal assonance, he kept it always full of vitality and vigour. The living language thus brought into higher regions of pure air, can breathe the ozone of alliteration and assonance wherever the ozone occurs in nature. நுணங்கு மொழி வல்லார்க்கு வணங்கு மொழி விண்ணப்பம் "Nuṇanku moḷi vallārkku vaṇanku moḷi vinnappam" was the title of a learned article in those early days. அனாசாரக் கும்பலை எதிர்க்கும் கலாச்சாரக்கூட்டம் "Anācārak kumpalai etirkkum kalācārakkūttam" is what we hear today. வேங்கடத்தை விடோம் விடோம், குமரியைக் கொடோம் கொடோம் "Vēnkaṭattai vitōm viṭōm ; Kumariyaik kotōm, koṭōm" are powerful slogans which do not appear, except when closely analysed, to be a live fire of alliteration. He has himself popularised the cries of his audience— வாழ்க, வெல்க 'Vaḷka', 'Velka'—cries to be raised when the appropriate first word, தமிழ் 'Tamil' புரட்சி 'Puratci' அறம், காந்தி 'Aram' or 'Gandhi' was uttered by him.

An orator can make any theory plausible : that is how the profession of lawyers originally thrived as sophism. The mercenary orator of election times has become known to us all through the election platforms. But this is a prostitution of an art. This art in virgin purity, understands all points of views with a sympathetic or empathetic heart, which is the very foundation of all arts. The universalism and cosmopolitanism—the Samarasa of T. V. K.—is another fruit of the 'Man as Orator'. His is the voice of Nature ; the clarion call of Freedom, the mouthpiece of the oppressed and suppressed—the labourer, the women and Harijans—and the song of brotherhood. His worship of Nature opened our eyes to the glories of Nature surrounding us every-

where and always. His deification of womanhood made us realise that we were all sons of our mothers. Brotherhood of Man, in the Social, Religious, Political spheres, was his very life-breath. In no speech, did he ever fail to impress on his audience these great truths. We saw him bridging the past with the future. Apart from this bridge of Time, he constructed a bridge in space—connecting the thoughts of the West with the thoughts of the East, perhaps another aspect of the Time bridge, connecting modern and ancient thoughts. He had expressed all modern thoughts of history, science, philosophy and politics in Tamil, revealing the wonderful possibilities of Tamil as a vehicle of modern thought. These thoughts have come to live, thanks to his speeches and writings, especially because of his attempt at revealing them as reflections of the ancient ideals of our own country. The language which was considered rigid, about to break on account of the gigantic weight of modern thought, was made pliable in his hands, very much like gold drawn into various desired shapes by an artist of an expert goldsmith. His style therefore breathes a new aroma of modernity—all as usual original to him. His poems reveal the same personality but they have to be studied separately. His history of Indian freedom, his autobiography, his philosophical and psychological work *Ulloli,* his essays on Murukan and Saivism, his political addresses in *Tamil Tenral,* his introductions to various works like *Sivajnanabhodam, Nedunalvadai, Metaittamil,* and *Periyapuranam,* his exposition of Tayumanavar, Nammalvar and Ramalingar, his explanation of Gandhism, Feminism, Love and Communism are original masterpieces of Tamilian thought and modern Tamil, standing unique as the great and loveable, permanent and valuable contributions of this father of modern oratory in Tamil.

Cultural and Language Rights in the Multi-National Society

A. JEYARATNAM WILSON

Democracy is a variable term which will have a different connotation in different societies. In the West, it proved a considerable success for a number of reasons. Most important of these reasons was that the countries which adopted democratic political institutions enjoyed a fair degree of economic prosperity and a considerable uniformity in the spheres of religion and language. The United Kingdom which is so often referred to as the classic home of parliamentary democracy has the vast majority of its inhabitants voluntarily adopting the English language and at the same time practising the Protestant faith. The same is true of France and the Netherlands. No doubt these countries have their minorities but these are generally treated well and regarded as equal partners. What is more, no serious attempt has been made to discriminate against them in the economic sphere. All these countries possess exploitable colonies and the problem of want is not so pressing as to warrant discrimination against the weaker communities. The colonies can always absorb the economically depressed sections. It is significant to note that Scotsmen, as long as they found suitable avenues of employment in the British Empire, were willing to accept the hegemony of the English. But with a contracting Empire and a deteriorating economy, the movement of Scottish nationalism has gained an added impetus. The same is true of Wales.

All this leads us to the question whether the Westminster model can thrive in the multi-national society. The new countries of India, Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon and

Malaya owe their creation to the administrative unification brought about by British rule. Their societies are not homogeneous in the sense that Western societies are. They are not economically prosperous in the way that Western countries have been and still are. To transplant political institutions of the Western type is a dangerous innovation which might therefore require serious modification. The rule of a racial or religious majority is often equated to democracy. But this conception of democracy is altogether alien to the liberal traditions of Britain and even France and the Netherlands. Men in these countries have tended to divide more on economic, social or political issues rather than on communal grounds. The reason for this is that these countries were fortunate in that they possessed a considerable degree of cultural and linguistic uniformity.

Democracy therefore does not imply the rule of a communal majority. If this were its definition, then the nation state could not have emerged. For democracy to function successfully, there must be some degree of uniformity. If this uniformity is not forthcoming, then an effort must be made to satisfy the lesser communities that exist within the confines of the artificial limits that were created by a century or more of British rule in the countries of Asia.

Basically, democracy implies toleration, the acceptance of diversity of opinion and the right to offer constitutional opposition to lawfully constituted government. But these do not exhaust the essentials of democracy especially where multi-national societies are concerned. They might prove satisfactory in comparatively homogeneous societies where political parties tend to think along socio-economic lines. Even in such comparatively homogeneous societies, there might be differences based on religion or class. But if the people mingle freely and speak the same language, some of the dangers immanent in a multi-national society can usually be avoided. It is true that at different stages, there was religious persecution in Britain. Protestant and Roman Catholics suffered alike though at

different periods. Nonconformism was once frowned at. Anglicanism was made the privileged religion despite opposition. The English language was imposed on the Scots, Welsh and Irish. But these attempts, though initially successful, were undertaken at considerable expense. The result is that there is religious toleration in Britain. The Scots and Welsh accepted the English language and acknowledged English hegemony but harmony prevailed so long as the resources of a vast Empire were opened to them. To-day, with depressed conditions and an Empire almost gone, there are nationalist movements gaining ground both in Scotland and Wales. The Irish refused to submit to the Protestant overlordship of the British and the price paid for practising harsh intolerance was the secession of Southern Ireland. Thus even in the home of classic parliamentary institution, there was social disorder and even bloodshed when attempts were made to impose uniformity. A useful lesson was learned in the process. Politicians realized that if the national fabric was not to be torn asunder, then their organisations must refrain from appealing to parochial sentiments. Political leaders in Britain therefore generally realise that in the interests of the nation as a whole, they must refrain from causing offence to the weaker partners that exist in their midst.

The situation in comparatively homogeneous countries is however much less complex than that which prevails in multi-national societies. Leadership in such societies, especially from the majority sector, has a much more difficult role to play. A short cut to power may be found by raising religious, language or caste cries but when power has been won under such circumstances, promises have to be fulfilled and the consequences might indeed be grave and irreparable. Oppression of a linguistic minority might if successful be followed by the practising of discrimination against religious minorities or caste groups. The attitude of Edmund Burke to Britain's treatment of the American colonists is worth noting in this context. Condemning the

denial of fundamental rights by the Government of George III, Burke declared, " Armies first victorious over Englishmen, in a conflict for English constitutional rights and privileges, and afterwards habituated (though in America) to keep an English people in a state of abject subjection, would prove fatal in the end to the liberties of England itself ". The true method for Burke was to find a way of peace. " Nobody shall persuade me ", he told a hostile House of Commons, " when a whole people are concerned that acts of lenity are not means of conciliation ". " The question with me " he stated " is not whether you have a right to render your people miserable, but whether it is not your interest to make them happy ". These are principles worthy of emulation by majority political leaders. To encourage racialism and intolerance at the political level would mean undermining the foundations of national solidarity. Permanent damage might be done. The problem is more serious in countries which have won independence anew. Minorities here, who should in fact be regarded as partner nations, must be accorded generous treatment if unity is to be maintained. To ignore them or persecute them would mean that they would develop a sense of permanent frustration. A large minority which has such a deep-seated grudge against the majority would be a danger to the country especially during a time of war and foreign invasion.

There is a school of thought which argues that it is the duty of the minority to fall in line with the wishes of the majority community and march with the latter towards a common goal. Such a policy would however not be quite democratic. It would mean that the minority community will always have to be at the mercy of the majority community. It would then cease to have a mind of its own. It would live in a state of fear and uncertainty. It would not be able to make any positive or constructive contribution towards the social good. In effect it would politically be only half alive. Such a situation would not be in accord-

ance with the best principles of democracy. For one of the fundamental concepts of democracy is that it teaches every man to have the highest conceit of himself. It is true that a minority has certain obligations. It must not make preposterous demands on the majority community. For instance it could not with fairness claim that its language should be imposed on members of the majority community. It cannot with justice demand that its religion be placed in a very privileged position. It would not be correct for it to claim a disproportionate share of the revenue of the country. But it has a right to demand that its language be given equal treatment as the language of the majority. It would be justified in requiring that the state should not outrage its religious sentiments by the enactment of discriminatory or repressive legislation. It would be within its rights in claiming a share of the national revenue for the purpose of developing those areas where it is concentrated especially if such areas are poor in natural resources and are grossly underdeveloped. But the upholders of communal majority rule aver that such assistance could only be conceded at a price. The minority should acquiesce with the views of the majority community. If the latter wish to make its language the state language, the minority should acquiesce and obtain certain concessions for its language. If the majority want a privileged position for its religion, the minority should concede the demand but obtain safeguards for its religion. It is only on this basis of give and take that the majority would be persuaded to consider the just demands of the minority community. So argue the proponents of communal majority rule. Indeed they go further. They put forward the unfair suggestion that the wishes of the communal majority should ultimately prevail. Such an acknowledgement of the unqualified supremacy of the will of the majority community would however be fraught with dangerous consequences. On such a basis there would be no limit to the extent to which a majority based on community or religion might demand that its will should prevail even if

it were to break the hearts of those who belong to the minority communities. If a claim of this nature was conceded, a particular caste in society which formed a majority could impose restrictions on a minority caste which tended to wield an undue amount of economic power in that society. It could go further. It could demand that the majority of posts in the public services should be reserved for the members of its caste irrespective of the meritorious claims of others. It was on such immoral and unethical grounds that Hitler sought to deprive the Jews of their property and privileges in Nazi Germany. The whole civilized world condemned the predatory methods of Hitlerite Germany.

There is therefore little justification for the view that the minority should pay unqualified obeisance to the wishes of a communal majority. The latter might be prepared to grant certain concessions and safeguards. They might even readily grant a charter of fundamental rights. But these safeguards are not adequate in themselves. The majority could always circumvent such statutory safeguards at least by administrative action. The ultimate arbiter in a dispute between the majority and the minority communities would be the judiciary. The latter body however could always be packed by the ruling majority and could therefore be depended to give verdicts which would not embarrass the decisions of the majority community. Nor could acquiescence with the views of the majority and co-operation with it be an adequate safeguard against the danger of incursion into minority rights by the majority. Concessions, it can rightly be argued may be granted merely for the sake of temporising. The minority would be justified in thinking that the ultimate aim of the majority is to destroy it as a separate entity and force it to merge itself with majority community. Such a solution would be ideal for peace and harmony to prevail in a multinational society. But this will be only on the condition that the minority is willing to merge itself with the majo-

rity community. In any case a process of this sort will have to be dragged through a long period of time. The transitional period will be one which will be regarded with fear and apprehension by those sections of the minority who desire to preserve their separate identity. At the same time there might be sections in the majority community too who would not be willing to inter-marry with members of the minority group. The result will be an increasing state of tension in the society concerned. Such a situation will not at all be conducive to the efficient functioning of good government. There is further the probability that a minority which has a distinct culture and civilisation of its own, will not be willing to allow itself to be absorbed by the majority community. In such an event the only alternative for the majority would be to deal generously with the minority community. Failure to accommodate will only result in bitterness and opposition from the minority community. This will necessarily mean the holding up of the social and economic progress of the country. The Government would have to spend its time trying to placate the minority instead of devoting that time to the task of promoting the economic and social betterment of the country.

The experience of Ceylon illustrates many of the difficulties and problems that confront a multi-national society as has been mentioned above. In this country the largest minority community, the Ceylon Tamils had at various times endeavoured to co-operate with the leaders of the majority community in the hope of welding together a united Ceylon. Some of the Ceylon Tamil leaders extended their co-operation to the Right Honourable D. S. Senanayake in his negotiations with the British Government for independence. But recent events have proved that much of this co-operation has been ill-rewarded. The speech of the Leader of the Opposition during the debate stage of the Official Language Bill adds weight to this view.

On that occasion Dr N. M. Perera made the following significant comments :

" In point of fact, if you go back to the history of this country, you will find that the minorities have been betrayed at every possible turn. From the time of Mr D. S. Senanayake, when the Donoughmore Constitution came up, the minorities, particularly the Indian community, were given certain promises which were broken. Then again, when the Soulbury Constitution too came up, similar concessions which were promised were broken right along. In the Indian Immigrants and Emigrants Bill various promises were made over and over again with regard to the treatment to be given to the Indians and everyone of those promises were broken in the implementation of that Bill. In the light of that, are we surprised that the minorities are jibbing at the acceptances of these assurances ".

Co-operation in fact resulted in the imposition of further burdens on the Ceylon Tamil minority. It is therefore no surprise that this minority community now seeks to safeguard its rights by asking for a federal form of constitution.

It is in the nature of things for the minority to be suspicious and mistrustful of the intentions of the majority community. But it is also only proper for the communal majority to understand the fears of the minority and be wise and generous in granting concessions to the latter. There is of course a limit to the granting of such concessions. But any minority by sheer virtue of the fact that it is in a permanent minority will not attempt to make outrageous demands on the majority community. The majority community will not stand to lose in being magnanimous towards the minority community. The fact that the communal majority has a majority in the legislature will in itself be a natural safeguard against any danger to its interests or safety. The cry that the language of the minority will destroy the language of the majority or that

a well entrenched minority religion like Christianity will undermine the faith of the religious majority in this country is a dangerous vote-catching device which the leaders from the majority sector should not raise in the interests of national unity and inter-communal harmony. Responsibility under such circumstances should generally lie with political leaders of the majority community. Communal parties among minority communities will always flourish so long as there is fear and suspicion against the majority community. The way to deal with such situations is not to hurt the minority by imposing undue burdens on it but to allay its fears by attempting to satisfy the demands put forward by its accredited representatives. In this sense communal parties among minority communities serve a useful purpose in that they act as effective spokesmen of their communities. They will make known their views and the majority community will have an opportunity of hearing these views. At the same time political leaders of the majority community should devote their attention to economic and social problems confronting the country instead of wasting their time on parochial and sectional matters. It is a party which is politically bankrupt that attempts to open Pandora's box by raising such communal problems to a political level. It is only on the basis of a generous treatment of minorities and the concentration of attention on national problems that the leaders of the majority community can hope to promote the development of a wholesome democratic atmosphere in any multi-national society.

Democracy after all is not merely the counting of heads. It also means paying adequate consideration to the views of the minority especially if the latter is not merely a political minority. In a homogeneous society the political majority will not be so rash and foolish as to ignore the wishes of the political minority. The former will always have the fear that at some stage it will be replaced. This fear in itself would caution the majority not to proceed on a reckless course of action. In a multi-national society

however, the majority and minority are unchangeable factors and the issues therefore are more complicated. A communal minority whose feelings and susceptibilities have been outraged will have no means of obtaining redress because it can never hope to be a majority. The most that it could do is to place its trust in a national political party which is willing to grant recognition to its demands. But this would leave it with no choice but to support the party which is sympathetic to its claims. The minority might not be in agreement with the economic and social programme of such a party but circumstances may leave it with no option but to support this party. This would be against democratic principles for one of the cardinal tenets of democracy is the freedom to choose. The alternative would be for the minority to place its confidence on a communal party which could be relied on to safeguard its vital interests. Until the communal problem is solved to the satisfaction of the minority community it will refuse to think on any other lines but communal lines. Under these circumstances, it is essential that the political thinking of the majority community should not be coloured by communal considerations. The voters who belong to the majority community will therefore have to possess a great deal of political foresight and understanding. They should endeavour to influence their leaders to join forces with those leaders of the minority community who have the confidence of the minority voters. They should try to persuade their leaders to make an honest effort to meet the demands of the minority leaders. No purpose will be served by subjecting the latter to harsh vituperation and abuse. It is only on the basis of mutual understanding and a policy of give and take that unity and harmony can be established. The alternative is repression bringing in its train the evils of communal hatred and civil chaos. This in turn would engender separatist movements. In the last analysis when all other methods have failed to effect reconciliation and if the majority proves intolerant and recalcitrant, separation would be the only means left for a

territorially integrated minority to enable its members to live as respectable and full citizens of a free society. Northern and Southern Ireland, Palestine, India and Pakistan, North and South Korea, divided Indo-China, the demand for the partition of Cyprus between Greeks and Turks, the movement for a separate South Indian State and the agitation of the Ceylon Tamils for autonomy within the framework of a federal union are all evidence of the extent to which minorities will go when they are driven to desperation and denied the right to equal partnership within the confines of a single state. This at least should serve as a warning to the majority to deal with the minorities in their midst in a generous and judicious manner.

Ancient Tamil Music

K. KODANDAPANI PILLAI

The ancient Tamilians had a system of music of their own which was as old and as refined as that of any of the ancient nations of the world. With the political, economic and cultural changes which came over their life, changes are inevitable in the long life of any ancient people, their music underwent considerable changes with the result it was scarcely possible to recognise its identity. In 1942, one of the patriotic sons of Tamilnad, Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiar, a great patron of arts and literature and the illustrious founder of the Annamalai University started a movement for the revival of Tamil music, known as " The Tamil Isai Movement ". This gave a great impetus to the singing of all tunes through the medium of Tamil language and led to research in the field of the ancient Tamil music. This great benefactor who always aimed at thoroughness in all that he did, instituted research to investigate and fix the exact nature of the ancient melodies. Those skilled in these melodies were invited from the distant corners of the country at enormous cost to meet in annual conference to investigate, demonstrate and fix those ancient modes in a scientific manner. These conferences were presided over by the head of the department of music of the Madras University. The proceedings of the conferences were published in Tamil annually.

The mediaeval musical modes or the religious hymns of *Thevaram* and *Thiruvai Mozhi,* which are profuse in their varieties, rich in their content, sweet and moving in their melodies—which still have a special appeal to the people, were taken up first for research in these conferences. Their labour has not reached its end. They have not entered yet into the most ancient Tamil music. But other individuals have not hesitated to take up investigation in this field. In

1947, Swami Vipulananda of the Ramakrishna Mission, a great Tamil Scholar, published his researches after a life long study of that subject, in his monumental work "Yal Nool" யாழ்நூல். Two other books, "Exposition of the musical Modes as found in the Epic Silappathikaram" சிலப்பதிகாரத்திசை நுணுக்கம் by Sangeetha Booshanam S. Ramanathan and the "Pentatone Modes" ஐந்திசைப்பண் by Sundaresan of Kudanthai have also been published. Professor Sambamoorthy, an erudite scholar and a musician well versed in the theory and practice of music, the head of the department of music in the Madras University, has written five volumes about South Indian Music in general. In addition to the references to Tamil music in his work, he has also contributed a treatise on the music described in "The Epic of the Anklet" சிலப்பதிகாரம் which is attached as Appendix III to the translation of that Epic by late V. R. Ramachandra Dikshadar (Professor of History, Madras University). It is now possible to know, with fair certainty, the exact nature and shape of these ancient melodies. It is also now possible to find out their relation to or their contact with the other systems of music in the world and to assess their contribution to the Indian systems of music. A brief and succinct outline of the important aspects of this ancient system of music is now attempted here.

II

Music during the Pre-Christian Era

It is claimed by the ancient commentators, no doubt with adequate reasons, that there were a good many works on the twin arts of dance and music but that all of them have been lost. Some of the important works lost are முதுநாரை, பெருங்குருகு, செயிற்றியம் பேரிசை, சிற்றிசை and இசை நுணுக்கம். The last of the works இசை நுணுக்கம் which means, "The minute scale of Music" or "The Subtleties of Music" by its very name indicates that it should have dealt with the science of music or the minute

and precise divisions of the musical scale. பேரிசை and சிற்றிசை evidently dealt with, as their names suggest, the great modes in music and the lesser modes. As these works are lost, the only source to which we can look for information is the classical works which are generally described as the Literature of the Sangam period.

THOLKAPPIAM AND MUSIC

Among the works of this period *Tolkappiam*, the grand old grammar of the Tamil language, stands foremost. That this is the most ancient of all the classical works is not disputed even by the hostile critic. This great work occupies an unique place as a grammar of a high order and also as a mine of information regarding ancient Tamil civilization and culture. The author of this work was known by the name of this work as Tholkappiar and his real name is not known. The life of the early Tamilians extending, probably, even to the remote period of their tribal life, the customs and manners of those ancient days, the social and political conditions, the physical and geographical particulars could all be gathered from this work. A chapter dealing with these subjects, forms an integral part of this work and is called பொருளதிகாரம் which literally means a chapter of the materials. This is a peculiar feature of this Tamil grammar which is not found in the grammar either of Sanskrit or of any other language. It will be seen from the introduction to this work that the great author collected these particulars not only from the books of his time but also from the people of the good part of the Tamil country between Vengadam [1] in the north and Kumari [2] in the South. The introduction further adds that what was gathered thus was further verified by personal observation and comparison at other places and recorded in this work. [3] Truth and reliability thus form the core of this work.

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1 Modern Tirupathi Hills.
2 Cape Comerin. Some scholars hold that this denotes a place further South which had submerged.
3 வடவேங்கடம் தென்குமரி
ஆயிடைத்

It will be seen from this work that the country was divided into four main regions, pastoral regions (முல்லை Mullai) hills (குறிஞ்சி Kurinchi) Arable lands (மருதம் Marutham) and coastal belts (நெய்தல் Neythal).[4] To this four-fold division was added subsequently one more, "the dreary waste" (பாலை, Palai). These five-fold divisions mark the early divisions of the country. Each region had its own peculiar gods, food, occupations, drums, fauna, flora and music which were classified as Karuporul, (கருப்பொருள்). Karuporul literally means embryonic factors, i.e. the nucleus out of which developed the culture of each region. These seven basic factors greatly influenced the life of the people, shaped the traits and habits peculiar to each region and thus formed the basis of their culture. The classification of music and timbrel, the instrument of rhythm, as basic factors of culture establishes that from early times music and rhythm became intimately connected with the very life of the worship of the Gods. They were held by the people as dear as the worship of their gods and as important as their food. They were resorted to as occupation, trade or industry and became so peculiar to each region as the fauna and flora. These divisions and classifications were not made by Tholkappiar but were in vogue long before his time. In describing the divisions of the land Tholkappiar states that he has described them in order in which they were described before "சொல்லிய முறையாற் சொல்லவும் படுமே" (தொல்., அகத்திணை., 5) and about the classification he states that scholars have stated that they were the basic factors "கருவென மொழிய" (தொல்., அகத் திணை.,18).

தமிழ்கூறும் நல் உலகத்து
எழுத்தும் சொல்லும் பொருளும்நாடி
செந்தமிழ் சிவணிய நிலத்தொடு
முந்து நூல்கண்டு முறைபட எண்ணி —தொல்., பாயிரம், 1—6.

[4] முல்லை, குறிஞ்சி, மருதம் நெய்தலென
சொல்லிய முறையாற் சொல்லவும் படுமே.
—தொல்., பொருள்., அகத்திணை., 9.

The term used here to denote music is Yal, யாழ், which in old Tamil meant either the music or the stringed instrument which was used to produce that music Yal, the instrument is now understood to have been somewhat similar to a harp or a lyre. The music or the mode in use in each of these regions was named after the land in which it arose and was generally used, as Mullai முல்லை, Kurinchi குறிஞ்சி, Marutham மருதம், Neythal நெய்தல் or Palai பாலை as the case may be. A harp with a few strings of certain length and arranged in a certain order could produce only a certain type of melody. To produce different types of melodies or modes, harps with strings of different lengths arranged in different order have to be used. These regions had thus five different harps each tuned to that kind of melody or mode which was peculiar to each region. Contrivances to produce any number of melodies on one and the same instrument like the frets in the modern vina were not then in vogue.

Thus these five musical modes were in use from the earliest times. Arising from the national folk songs, this is, evidently, the first stage in which music was given a definite mode and a name to denote it. Sufficient materials do not exist in the Sangam literature available now[5] to fix exactly what the musical scales of these modes were. Naming the modes after the land in which they arise and where they are mostly used, occurs in the infancy of a musical culture. Naming them after the principal note or group of notes in the melody or giving them mathematical, geometrical, religious or mythological names occurs later according to the atmosphere in which the music lives and thrives.

A parallel to this method of naming the melodies is found in the ancient Greek music of the early times. It is

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5 There are however materials in the literature of the period immediately following the Sangam period to fix at least one of these modes and these will be discussed later.

a strange coincidence that the early Greeks had also five ancient modes called the Dorain, Lydian, Phrygian, Aeolian and Ionian, named after the lands in which they were invented and mostly used. The following quotation from Dr Charles Bruney will confirm this.

"Pliny tells us that the three first and original modes were the Phrygian, Dorian and Lydian, so named after the several countries [6] in which they were invented and chiefly used, though Heraclides of *Pontus* asserts that the Aeolian, Dorian and Ionian were of the most ancient and were in general use among the first inhabitants of Greece. However, it seems probable that the five modes mentioned by these two authors were in use long before the rest." [7]

Here also a similar dispute arises that the four modes relating to the four regions of Tholkappiar were the earliest and that பாலை Palai was only a later mode. We may conclude with Dr. Bruney that it is probable that all the five modes mentioned were in use long before the rest. This will be explained further when the musical scales are examined.

These five modes as already pointed out mark the initial stage of the musical development and this relates probably to a time far anterior to the time of Tholkappiar, whatever that may be. There are two references to music in *Tholkappiam* which go to show that the music during the time of the author was far more developed than those ancient modes mentioned above. In the chapter relating to the alphabets the author points out that the vowels and consonants exceed the limit of sound pointed out by him in his grammar and that scholars say that the particulars regarding these are in the "Book of secrets of the strings

[6] The country known as Greece was composed of many small regions each of which developed independently a tradition of its own.

[7] *A General History of Music* by Dr. Charles Bruney, Vol. I, Page 54, 1935 Edition.

tuned to the music".[8] Whether the word used here, மறை "Marai", refers to a book of secrets or the secrets in possession of music experts, the description is indeed artistic and quite significant. This indicates that at the time of the author music has overcome the limitations of an infant who has naturally, no secrets to hide from any one near or dear. It has definitely passed beyond the stage of plain country modes, the common possessions of hill tribes, pastoral shepherds, ploughing farmers or the canoeing fishermen and entered into the intricacies of a musical scale known only to the initiated few.

At another place Tholkappiar uses a simile from the musical practice. He states that an original literary work is likely to be spoiled in its translation, adaptation epitomisation or expansion as a good original melody is likely to be spoiled by an incompetent accompaniment.[9] The accompaniment in music is here denoted by the term வாரம் புணர்த்தல்[10] (varam punarthal) a term which has become obsolete. The modern reader will understand this better if it is put in the modern garb as பின் பாட்டு (Pin Pattu) or பக்கவாத்தியம்[11] (Pakkavathiam or side music).

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[8] அளபிறந் துயிர்த்தலும் ஒற்றிசை நீடலும்
உளவென மொழிப, இசையொடு சிவணிய
நரம்பின்மறைய என்மனார் புலவர். —தொல்., எழுத்து, 33.

[9] முதல் வழியாயினும் யாப்பினுட் சிதையும்
வல்லோன் புணரா வாரம்போன்றே. —தொல்., மரபு, 108.

[10] வாரம் என்பதற்குப் பேராசிரியர் உரை :—வாரம் என்பது கூறு; என்னை ? ஒரு பாட்டினைப் பிற்கூறு சொல்வாரை. 'வாரம் பாடும் தோரிய மகளிர்.' —சிலப்., 14—155.

வாங்கிய வாரத்து யாழுங்குழலும்
ஏங்கிய மிடறும் இசைவன கேட்ப. —சிலப்., 3, 50—51.

அரும்பத உரை :—இப்படி நிகழ்ந்த உருக்களில் யாழ்ப்பாடலும் குழலிசையும் கண்டப்பாடலும் இயைந்து நடக்கின்றபடி கேட்போர் செவி கொள்ளாநின்று,

[11] To understand the simile one should have some idea of a music concert or a dance or a drama in the South Indian style.—An essential component of any one of these is the accompaniment in music either instrumental or vocal or both, in addition to the accompaniments of

The role of an accompanying songster or musician who should pick up the melody of the chief and follow him up in musical concert, drama or dance is an important one. His job is also not an easy one. He has to get into the mood and emotions of the chief artist if his accompaniment should well harmonise with the original. He has to pick up the subtleties and the artistic turns of the principal in an instant to be in a line with him, or else his accompaniment will be of a different pattern. He should be able to adjust his abilities to suit the chief, to raise them if necessary to catch up with him or lower them to be in tune with him. If he overdoes his part the principal falls into shade and he gets all the applause. If he is not on a par the chief loses the support he needs and his song loses its lustre. If he is bad the entire performance loses its beauty, charm and aesthetic pleasure it is expected to afford. How apt is the simile when it is applied to the translation etc., of an original literary production ! It is really surprising how modern is the concept of this simile and how far-reaching its import !

This is not the only surprise Tholkappiar has for the modern reader. Though it may be digressing, let me quote here one more of these surprises which Dr. Sankaran of the Deccan College, Poona, has expressed regarding the work of this ancient author writing about the modern Phonemic theory. Dr. Sankaran says " An insight into this (phonemic) structure is provided by *Tholkappiam,* the oldest Tamil grammar from which a modern student of Phonemics can easily rediscover many a concept that is coming into vogue today. We are lost in wonder that in this old Tamil grammar we rediscover as it were many of our modern ideas.[12] This may not, perhaps, be altogether

rhythm. These accompaniments are gradually losing their ground in the modern drama where the dialogue predominates and the song or the music has been reduced to the lowest minimum. These however still hold their ground in music concerts and dances, probably with some modifications. How little have the musical habits of the Tamilians changed through these thousands of years ! !

12 *Phonemics of Old Tamil* by Dr. C. R. Sankaran, M A., in Deccan College Monographs — Series 7.

irrelevant in the context of music. Phonetics, phonemics and music belong to the sphere of sound. A people proficient in one of these branches may naturally be expected to be equally proficient in the other branches especially when they are almost basically allied or interrelated.

To revert to the simile, its bearing on the music of the period has to be considered now. To coin a simile from the musical practice and to use it to illustrate a truth in literature shows how popular music was with the people of those times. They were evidently so well acquainted with the music as to understand through a musical analogy a truth in literature which was perhaps not so well known in the same level as music. Or this may indicate that music and literary art were so advanced among the people that one proved to be of great assistance in understanding the other or of service to the other when any difficulty was experienced in comprehension or elucidation. Both are fine arts which have many things in common. At any rate this marks not an elementary stage in music and literature. Music has far outgrown its infancy. It has passed even the stage of a truant boyhood setting at naught the discipline and control of the home or the school. It seems to have reached its adolescence well disciplined for a stage or concert seeking discriminate companionship in the selection of a harmonious accompaniment to enhance its beauty, endowed with aesthetic comprehension of unity in diversity and artistic perfection in presenting a combined performance so as to delight the audience.

In addition to the two direct references to music and musical practice *Tholkappiam* refers to four kinds of bards or professional singers who formed an integral part of the then social order. They were called Koothar, கூத்தர், the dancers and dramatists, Panar, பாணர், musicians vocal or instrumental, Porunar, பொருநர். those who sing or play on instruments, martial music and Virali,

விறலி, the lady musicians, dancers and dramatists.[13] These formed the main classes of these bards at the time of Tholkappiar ; but subsequently the 'Panar' among them was further divided into 'Chiru Panar' சிறுபாணர் those who played on harps with minimum number of strings and small in size, and Perumbanar பெரும்பாணர் those who played on harps with greater number of strings and larger in size than the other. Probably harps of different kinds were necessary to suit the different kinds of melodies which each class of these bards specialised in. This subdivision is noticed in the works which arose after *Tholkappiam.* The *Pathu Pattu,* பத்துப்பாட்டு *the Ten Idylls* mentions these different kinds of harps in detail and a few other poems of the Sangam period refer to them also. This subdivision arose evidently as a result of the development in music which took place during the period that intervened between Tholkappiar and the subsequent works, which necessitated the use of two kinds of instruments. As observed previously in those ancient days different kinds of musical modes required different kinds of harps to set them to music.

These bards composed their own songs and put them to music either vocally or on instruments and some of them were called Panuval Panar, பனுவல்பாணர்,[14] literary bards. They went about meeting the patrons of music all over the country. Rulers and chieftains coveted their music and the public delighted in their performances. They were welcome guests in peasant homes and palaces of kings. They were treated almost as guests of honour wherever they stepped in. Kings and chieftains arranged

[13] கூத்தரும் பாணரும் பொருநரும் விறலியும்
ஆற்றிடைக் காட்சி உறழத் தோன்றிப்
பெற்ற பெருவளம் பெறுர்க் கறிவுறீஇச்
சென்று பயனெதிர் சொன்னபக்கமும்.

—தொல்., பொரு., புறத்., 36.

[14] கைகவர் நரம்பிற் பனுவல் பாணன்.
—நற்றிணை, 200.

பயன்தெரி பனுவல் பைதீர் பாண.
—நற்றிணை, 167.

banquets and feasts for them and revelled in their music. The meeting of the two sets of these bards in their itenarary, one imparting to the other, information about the patrons of music, the treatment accorded, the honours conferred and the gifts and presents made, formed a good subject for poetry in those ancient days and Tholkappiar included these as materials found in the literature of his period in his chapter on 'Porul', the material.[15]

Sangam literature furnishes good many instances of these meetings. Of Ten Idylls, the meeting of these bards forms the subject matter of four of them.[16] The poetic conception of these pieces differ according to the attainments of the authors concerned. The description of the country through which these bards passed, the receptions and banquets arranged for them also differ. But all these four poems are one in singing the chorus of the honour and dignity bestowed on these bards by their patrons. It will be useful to gather some particulars about these banquets and the treatment accorded to these bards as they serve to illustrate the meetings of the bards referred to by Tholkappiar.

Of the four Idylls dealing with the meeting of these bards Porunar Artupadai, the meeting of the musicians of the martial modes deals with the reception given by the great monarch Karikalan of the Chola country. The following is the description of this reception :—

> "The bards enter the Palace undetained by the guards. The monarch received them in audience and asks them to take their seats quite close to him. His loveable speech and endearing looks made even the bones of these bards melt with emotion. Beautiful, sweet smiling, well adorned ladies of the palace serve them with drinks (wines) in cups of gold, full to the

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[15] தொல்., பொருள்., புறத்திணை இயல், 36.

[16] சிறுபாண் ஆற்றுப்படை, பெரும்பாண் ஆற்றுப்படை, பொருநர் ஆற்றுப்படை, கூத்தர் ஆற்றுப்படை. (மலைபடுகடாம்)

brim, as often as they are emptied. The bards drink full and forget the fatigue of their long journey. They are asked to stay in a part of the palace itself " [17]

A banquet for the bards is arranged in the meantime and a joyous feast awaits them.

" The heralds are ordered to fetch the bards in and the king himself leads them to the banquet. Exquisite soup in which haunches of pure fed sheep had been cooked tender is served and the bards are coaxed to a sumptuous repast. Roasts of fat meat are served hot in plenty even to surfeit. This is followed by delicious sweets of tempting varieties in numerous shapes, which the bards partake and prolong the lunch.*

Dancing accompanied by the music of the harp and the rhythm of the drum முழவு succeed the banquet.

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[17] நசையுநர் தடையா நல் பெருவாயில் 67
இசையோன் புக்கு 68
....
வேளான் வாயில் வேட்பக் கூறிக் 75
கண்ணிற்காண நண்ணுவழி இரீஇப்
பருகுஅன்ன அருகா நோக்கமொடு
உருகுபனைபோல் என்பு குளிர் கொளீஇ, 78
....
மழைஎன மருளும் மகிழ்செய் மாடத்து 84
இழைஅணி வனப்பின் இன்னகை மகளிர்
போக்கில் பொலங்கலம் நிறையப் பல்கால்
வாக்குபு தரத்தர வருத்தம் வீட
ஆரஉண்டு பேரஞர் போக்கி 88
....
திருக்கிளர்கோயில் ஒரு சிறைதங்கி 90

* கதுமெனக் கரைந்து வம்மெனக்கூஉய் 101
துராய்த்துற்றிய துருவை அம்புழுக்கின்
பாரரை வேவைப் பருகெனத் தண்டி
காழிற் சுட்ட கோழுன் கொழுங்குறை
ஊழின் ஊழின் வாய்வெய்து ஒற்றி
அவை அவை முனிகுவம் எனினே ; சுவைய
வேறு பல் உருவின் விரகுதந்து இரீஇ 108

பொருநர் ஆற்றுப்படை

Feasting and revelry go on for many days in the palace "* [18]

In 'Chirupanartupadai' the chieftain stands near the bards entertained by him attends to them individually and personally helps them to their dishes. He delights in the 'honeyed melodies pouring out ambrosial essence' played to a perfect scale on their harps. The chieftains in the other two Idylls treat the bards with the same honour and dignity. They enjoy the ravishing melodies of their flute or the sweet strains of their harp or the moving tunes of their vocal songs.

The honour and dignity bestowed upon these bards by the highest authorities and the greatest dignitaries of the land almost equal those bestowed on the bards of ancient Greece. Almost in the same manner described in the Tamil classics, the bards of Greece were guests of honour in the palaces of kings and had a distinguished place in the king's table. The lines in which Homer describes the treatment accorded to these bards are so similar that it becomes necessary to quote a few of them.

On the arrival of Telemachus, the King Menalaus of Sparta arranges a banquet in his palace and Homer describes it thus:

" While this gay friendly troop the king surround
With festival and mirth the roofs resound
The bard amid the joyous circle sings
High airs attemper'd to vocal strings." [19]

Odyssey Book iv Verse 21.

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[18] மண்ணமை முழவின் பண்ணமை சீறியாழ் 109
ஒண்ணுதல் விறலியர் பாணி தூங்க
மகிழ்பதம் பல் நாள் கழிப்பி 111

பொருநர் ஆற்றுப்படை

* A free translation of these lines is given above to convey the main ideas.

[19] தேம்பெய்து 226

அமிழ்து பொதிந்து இலிற்றும் அடங்குபுரி நரம்பின்
பாடுதுறை முற்றிய பயன்தெரி கேள்விக்
கூடுகொள் இன்னியம் குரல் குரலாக
....

Similarly resound the palaces of kings and chieftains of the Tamil country. Here is another description of a banquet by Ulysses to the bard.

> "For him the goblet flows with wine unmixt"
> ....
> "The bard a herald guides : The gazing throng
> Pay obeisance as he moves along :
> Beneath the sculptured arch he sits enthroned
> The peers encircling form an awful round
> There from the chine, Ulysses carves with art
> Delicious food an honorary part ;
> This, let the master of the lyre receive,
> A pledge of love ! 'tis all a wretch can give
> Lives there a man beneath the spacious skies
> Who, sacred honours to the bard denies".
>
> *Odyssey* Book viii

The Tamil country never denied the sacred honours to their bards. What a remarkable similarity exists in the musical customs of these two ancient peoples ! This is evidently a natural outcome of the great fascination which music had for these people and the high esteem in which music was held in both these countries. The respect and regard shown to these bards in these feasts and banquets relate, undoubtedly, to the music and not to the individuals, who especially in the Tamil country were traditionally poor, ill-fed and ill-dressed. *The Ten Idylls* which describe these banquets belonged no doubt to a period later than that of *Tholkappiam* but they definitely relate to a tradition which *Tholkappiam* makes specific mention of in its chapter on Material 'Porul', which was already referred to and which has, evidently, come down from a period far anterior to that of *Tholkappiam* itself.

நால் நெறி மரபிற் பண்ணி யாளுநர், 230
விளங்கு பொற்கலத்தில் விரும்புவனபேணி 244
ஆருவிருப்பில் தானின்று ஊட்டி 245

சிறுபாண் ஆற்றுப்படை

Tholkappiam further deals with rhythm, சீர், form or colour, வண்ணம், which are common both to poetry and music. It also deals with compositions which are used in common in literature, dance, drama, or music such as kali, கலி, paripadal பரிபாடல், and pannathi, பண்ணத்தி. These will be referred to and dealt with later on, in appropriate context. Various instruments of percussion or rhythm referred to in *Tholkappiam* will be dealt with in a separate section, under the caption 'Musical instruments'. Dance and dancers were referred to briefly before. They will be examined at some length under a separate heading later.

From what has been discussed above we see that music and rhythm formed an integral part of the culture of the Tamilians from time immemorial. Music attained definite forms and shapes as five ancient modes and were given five different names. In addition to these five ancient modes, *Tholkappiam* definitely refers to a musical scale which was not known to many. Concerts and dances went on with suitable accompaniments vocal or instrumental. Kings and nobles held music and dance in high esteem. There was a class of people called *Panar* or bards who specialised in these arts and whose main occupation was music and dance. There was thus a fertile soil and a congenial climate in which the twin arts of music and dance flourished and attained their full growth.

(To continue)

The Historicity of Agathiar

S. J. GUNASEGARAM.

There has been a strong and persistent tradition through many centuries that Agathiar, an Aryan Brahmin, was the founder of the Tamil language and the author of its first grammar. This grammar of Agathiar, however, has not come down to posterity, nor has any subsequent grammarian or scholar used it as an authority or given a single quotation from the supposed work of Agathiar.

Tholkappiam, the oldest extant grammar of the Tamil Language, written in or about the fourth century B.C., makes no mention of Agathiar, although the same tradition refers to Tholkappiar, the author of *Tholkappiam,* as having been Agathiar's disciple. It is curious that even Panamparanar, who wrote the preface to *Tholkappiam* has made no reference whatever to Agathiar. If the belief in the authorship of a Tamil grammar written by Agathiar had existed in his time, it is very unlikely that Panamparanar too would have failed to record it.

It is equally striking that the Third Sangam works, the earliest extant literature in Tamil, make no mention of Agathiar. A single reference to the name is found in *Irayanar's Agapporul* which gives the story of the Tamil Sangams but the Agathiar in this instance refers to a constellation and not to a person. (Paripadal 11th poem—நல்லந் துவனர்)

P. T. S. Iyengar has pointed out in his *History of the Tamils,*—p. 224—, that for nearly one thousand years after Christ there is no mention of Agathiar having learnt Tamil from God nor that he was the founder of Tamil. The stories

assigning to Siva the origin of Tamil and to Agathiar, the authorship of the first Tamil grammar, appear to have originated nearly a thousand years after Christ.

Dr. L. D. Barnett was of opinion that the myth of an Aryan Muni called Agathiar who lived at Pothia Hills and composed the earliest Tamil grammar, was cultivated after the North Indian Brahmin had planted his influence firmly in the South ("Cambridge History of India", Vol. I p. 596).

The story appears to have originated actually in the 8th or 9th century A.D. Though in *Manimekalai* (2 A.D.) reference is made to an Agathiar, he is not associated either with the Tamil language or its grammar. (ந. சி. கந்தையா பிள்ளை—அகத்தியர்)

Srinivasa Iyengar (*Tamil Studies*, Appendix II) wrote long ago that, Tholkappiar 'has not said anywhere in his grammar one word about Agastya, his reputed teacher'. It has been at least the Tamil custom for an author to begin his work with a salutation for his teacher or Acharya. In this case the teacher was a divine Rishi and the suppositious writer of the first Tamil grammar. Both of them flourished at the same period. It is not understood why Tholkappiar should have taken so much trouble to observe the usages, to study the Tamil authors and to deduce from them the grammatical rules, or why he should have recited his work for the approval and edification of the Academy before a fellow student — Athanagottasan, while Agastya was its president... But all these throw serious doubts as to whether Agastya had really written a Tamil grammar and whether Tholkappiar was ever his disciple... No man has ever seen Agastya's grammar... What I am inclined to believe is that every myth and tradition connected with Agastya with the Tamil language, should have come into existence subsequent to the seventh or eighth century A.D."

The same author has pointed out elsewhere in the same treatise that 'in the early centuries of the Christian

era the Tamils seem to have held that Tamil was an independent language' and that 'it had nothing to do with Sanskrit'. Tholkappiar himself states in his work that he had consulted earlier grammars and poetical works. Tamil at this period obviously had already a written language and a body of literature. Besides, as Sirinivasa Iyengar has shown 'Sanskrit words in Tamil must have been so few in those days'. Tholkappiar quotes from Tamil works prior to his time and states clearly that special rules were not required to deal with foreign words in Tamil — an indication that at this period the influence of Sanskrit on Tamil was negligible. Sirinivasa Iyengar adds, "It was when they (the Tamils) came under Sanskrit culture (that was subsequent to the seventh or eighth century A.D.) the views of Tamil Scholars began to change. Most of them were acquainted with Tamil and Sanskrit. It was because Sanskrit was used as a vehicle of religious thought during this period, 'a partiality or rather a sentiment connected with religion induced them to trace Tamil from Sanskrit, just as the early European divines tried to trace the Western languages from Hebrew".

This is no doubt a charitable explanation, but whether or not, it was, at the same time, a planned cultural conspiracy on the part of the Aryanised Brahmins to give priority and supremacy to Sanskrit, the language of the civilising Aryans, and to establish an Aryo-Brahmin dominion over Bharata which they had changed into Aryavarta has to be considered. This interference has not been confined to the domain of religion and to that of the courts where Brahmins found places as priests and advisers, but extended even to the Sanskritisation of place names, rivers and mountains.

From the early days of the Aryan incursion with India that there has been a studied attempt on the part of the new-comers to give an Aryan colouring to the indigenous culture, has been noted by many scholars.

"It is an acknowledged fact," says Hewitt in his *Notes on the Early History of Northern India*, p. 216, "that at times the Aryans when naming Dravidian tribes distorted original Dravidian names so as to give an Aryan meaning".

Marshall in his book *A Phrenologist among the Todas* states, "The low state of culture of the Aryans before their incursion into India might have contributed a great deal to their final acceptance of an easy amalgamation with the culture of the Dravidians. It has been suggested long ago that prior to their immigration into India, the Aryans of that era were probably of a similar stage of culture to the Todas".

Tamil gods like Muruga, Tirumal (Mal) were given Aryan names like Subramania and Vishnu. Dravidian names of rivers, and places had been Aryanised. Even the word 'Pandai' (பண்டை), 'old' in Tamil from which the Pandyans derive their name had been changed into Pandavas. (ந. சி. கந்தையபிள்ளை—'அகத்தியர்')

"That the more brawny but thicker witted Aryan could learn the extraordinarily difficult language of the 'ill spoken man', as the Vedas term the Dravidian, was not to be supposed. The Dravidian instead had to learn Sanskrit".—Slater *Dravidian Element in Indian Culture*, p. 61.

There appears to be some truth in the contention that Dravidian scholars who had gained proficiency in Sanskrit, had translated a large number of Tamil works with Sanskrit works which in course of time came to be regarded as Sanskrit originals. In the book referred to above Slater says, "Indian culture, with its special characteristics of systematic and subtle philosophical thought, must have come from people of originality developing it. That capacity would naturally be exhibited also in the evolution of language, and the purest Dravidian language does exhibit it in the highest degree—in a higher degree than any other Indian language" (*Ibid*, p. 33).

The apostles of this Aryo-Dravidian synthesis were the Brahmins, a priestly caste formed in North India, long after the primitive Indo-Aryans occupied it. These priests in all probability, were of Dravidian origin, who by virtue of their superior knowledge and alleged magical powers attributed to them by the Aryans in the Rig-Veda, became *personae-gratae* among the Aryan ruling classes and, particularly, in the royal households; and at the same time acted as liaison officers between the new comers and the original inhabitants of India. The *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad* itself acknowledges that of the Aryan speakers who were white (*sukla*), brown or tawny (*kapila*) and dark or black (*syama*) and who studied the Vedas, the last was the cleverest of the three, knowing all the three Vedas, while others knew one and two.

The vedic Aryans did not know the art of writing, and the alphabet itself was learnt by them from the Dravidians. The Brahmins of this early age who had gradually acquired an Aryan complex could not have suspected that later generations would laugh at the puerile myth of their making that an Aryan Brahmin had to come down to the highly organised and cultivated countries of the Tamils in the South to teach them their language and to compose the first grammar! The fact would appear to be that it was the Aryan who borrowed, absorbed and gradually transformed the culture of the Dravidians to suit his purpose, and labelled it Indian culture—Aryan.

The widespread Agathiar cult in the countries of South-East Asia is another evidence of this process. These kingdoms were founded, and the countries civilised by immigrants and traders from Southern India. Apart from the prominence given to the Agathia cult, stories of Brahmins founding dynasties have been created. George A. Walker in his *Angkor Empire* makes pointed reference to this when he says, " The sphere of Indian cultural influence has been so strongly imbued with the Brahmin complex

that it is natural to assume that all those who founded dynasties in the Indian colonies were Brahmins".

In both Funan and Chenla, now known as Cambodia, the founders of the early Indian Dynasties, according to legend, were Brahmins. Of the art of Funan K. A. Nilakanta Sastri himself admits that "The Art of this early Hindu State, judged from the geographical distribution of the monuments and the motifs that satisfy these conditions .... are decidedly of South Indian origin." (pp. 32, 33, *South Indian Influences in the Far East.*) The 'Aryan' Brahmin was averse to the crossing of the seas, and it was the Aryanised Brahmin of the South who was responsible for accompanying South Indian colonists to South East Aryan countries, and spreading the Agathiar cult and creating myths calculated to plant the seeds of Brahminic supremacy in these regions.

K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, the well known champion of Sanskrit culture has made an attempt, in his *History of South India* to cast doubts on the antiquity of the Tamil language and literature and to support the theory that the civilisation of the Tamils was largely due to their association with the Northern Brahmin. He holds that the Aryanisation of South India must have commenced as early as 1000 B.C. Taking into consideration the fact that scholars today are in general agreement in placing 1500 B.C. as the lower limit of the Aryan incursion into India, and that the Aryans were a barbarous nomadic people (at the time of their entry into India), without either a knowledge of the art of writing or a developed religion, it requires a deal of credulity either to approve or to accept that within a period of a couple of hundred years they had become so advanced not merely to be able to develop their own language but to study an admittedly more difficult language like Tamil, and to teach the Tamils their own language and to write its grammar!

Sastri himself admits the difficulty of the land-route to the South, at this early period. The Aryans of this

period had little or no knowledge of the sea, while the Dravidians—the Kalingas, Andhras and the Tamils were highly advanced sea-faring peoples, and had reached considerable fame as navigators and traders. Recent research and scholarship seem to indicate that it must have taken considerable time for the Aryan speaking people to achieve an appreciable degree of culture and refinement and to develop their language. Their cultural progress was assured and promoted mainly by their contact with the more advanced indigenous peoples of India and as a result of the borrowing and absorption of Dravidian culture and ideas.

There is a tradition (*Silappadikaram*) that even during the Mahabharatha war the Tamil kingdoms flourished in the South, and that the armies at Kurukshetra were fed by the Chera King. The Mahabaratha itself refers to the Cheras and the Pandyas of the South, and in particular to the wealth and power of the latter kingdom. There is reference to an Agathiar in the *Ramayana* as well, and the later story that Tholkappiar was a disciple of Agathiar cannot be reconciled with the Agathiar of either of these epics, as Agathiar of the Ramayana and Tholkappiar belong to two different times.

When and how did this legend take shape ? Between the fifth and the seventh centuries of the Christian era, the traditional Tamil kingdoms of the Cheras, Cholas and Pandyas came under the sway of the Pallavas, or the Thondayars. The Pallava kings were originally worshippers of Vishnu, and championed Vaishnavism as the court religion and Sanskrit as their court language, though in later years the Pallava kings became converted to Saivism and began to encourage Tamil. It was probably during the early stages of the Pallava ascendancy, in order to reconcile the Tamils to the Northern language, that the court scholars of the period, most of whom were Brahmins, fabricated the Agathiar myths, and began to associate a

venerated name like Agathiar in the South with the origin of Tamil and its grammar. It is significant that it was during this period that the Pallavas extended their influence to the Indian colonies in South-East Asia, as the innumerable Pallava inscriptions and Pallava work of Architecture scattered all over these regions would indicate. The Agathiar cult accordingly was carried across and popularised in South-East Asian Indian colonists as well by the court Brahmins of this period.

It is well known that the Tamil poets of the Sangam period were extremely interested in guarding the purity of their language and resisted the incursion of the language of the northerner into Tamil. Such was their zeal for the preservation of the distinct beauty and composition of their language that the Pallava kings had been more or less ignored by them and very scant reference made to the Pallavas by them in their works. By the time that the Pandyans had regained their power, after the Pallava ascendancy, these stories seem to have taken such a hold that the later Pandyas themselves began to assert that the Agathiar was the founder of the Tamil language and the preceptor of the Pandyan kings, the early patrons of the Tamil Sangam.

Introduction to Tamil Poetry

A. CHIDAMBARANATHA CHETTIAR

Tamil Literature may be said to fall mainly into 6 periods :—

1. Sangam Literature (3rd Sangam Literature)—200 B.C. to 200 A.D.
2. Post-Sangam Literature—200 A.D. to 600 A.D.
3. Early Mediaeval Literature—600 A.D. to 1200 A.D.
4. Later Mediaeval Literature—1200 A.D. to 1800 A.D.
5. Pre-modern Literature—1800 A.D. to 1900 A.D.
6. Modern Literature—1900 A.D. to the present day.

In the first period (200 B.C. to 200 A.D.) poets were true to Nature and their poems abounded in descriptions of natural objects and things, perceived with a keen eye. Some of the ancient descriptions about birds and animals, trees and creepers found in the works of this period accord greatly with what we know of them today after the advent of biological sciences. This speaks for the keen powers of observation and attention to details of the poets of this age. Though prose also should have been composed in this period, such prose compositions have not, however, been handed down to posterity. That there were prose compositions in that period could be inferred from a rule contained in Tholka:ppiam classifying the types of prose compositions into four.

The poetical compositions were all collected as several anthologies. The names of these anthologies are given below :—

1. Eṭṭutokai.
2. Pattupāṭṭu
3. Padineṇkīlkaṇakku

Eṭṭutokai is the name given to eight big collections. They are :—

1. Narriṇai
2. Kuruntokai
3. Aiṅkurunūru
4. Kalittokai
5. Akanānūru
6. Puranānūru
7. Padirrupattu
8. Paripāḍal

Opinion is not unanimous in assigning all the eighteen smaller works (going by the name of Padineṇkīlkaṇakku) to the same age as the preceding two collections. Works such as Nālaḍiyār are found on closer scrutiny to belong to a later age than the second century A.D. Thirukkuraḷ, however, is one of the works comprised in Padineṇkīlkaṇakku which can be placed in a century not later than the second century A.D.

Pattupāṭṭu or Ten Idylls is a collection of 10 long poems of agaval metre. The work consists of the following :—

1. Thirumurukārrupaḍai
2. Cirupāṇārrupaḍai
3. Perumpāṇrrpaḍai
4. Porunārarrupaḍai
5. Kūttar Ārrupaḍai or Malaipaḍukaḍām
6. Mullaipāṭṭu
7. Kurinjipāṭṭu
8. Maduraikānji
9. Paṭṭinapālai
10. Neḍunalvāḍai

These major poems fall mainly into two categories, namely, those that describe the prowess and valour and generosity of kings and chieftains of those times, and those that describe the domestic life of the people of the time. Of course, there are also poems among these which are praises of the Almighty. However, in the religious poetry like Thirumurukārrupaḍai and Paripāḍal, descriptions of the landscape give a peculiar colour and splendour to the whole work. Puranānūru and Padirrupattu give an account of the ways in which one king fought with another and the ways in which chieftains and warriors took part in the wars of the times and the ways in which messengers

and ambassadors were sent and the ways in which wealthy people made gifts to the learned and the needy. There are plenty of references to the impartial way in which the kings of the time ruled their respective parts of the country. The collections in the Eṭṭutokai series are mainly concerned with courtship, elopement, marriage with or without approval of the parents, wedded life, marital estrangements, reconciliation, happiness and joy. Each one of the poems in these collections looks like a short story in verse form. The terseness with which the incidents have been narrated and the hidden meanings and suggestiveness of words occurring in these poems deserve special notice.

Āṟṟupaḍai is a type of poem by which, generally speaking needy persons would be told how they could approach a generous and beneficent lord and how the speaker himself had enjoyed the hospitality of that lord. This type therefore lent itself freely to a narration of the achievements of the king concerned, chieftain or a wealthy person or God. These poems have a special interest for those that want to study the topography of the Tamil country. In every one of these poems the regions of the jungle, mountain, fields and the sea are vividly described, together with the occupations and avocations and pastimes of the different sections of the population inhabiting those regions. Mullaipāṭṭu contains special descriptions of the forest region and gives a masterly and vivid picture of a woman, separated from her lover, bearing the burden of separation with fortitude. Kuṟinjipāṭṭu contains a beautiful description of the region of the hills and is noted for the marvellous way in which it has described the flora of that region. This poem gives an inkling of the traditional way in which a lover makes love to his beloved and gains her. Maduraikānji bears witness to the happy way in which people were spending their life by day and by night in Madurai, the capital city of the Pāṇḍyas. Paṭṭinapālai also contains similar descriptions pertaining to

Kāvēri pugum paṭṭiṉam, the capital city of the Cholas. The hero in the poem describes the seat of the capital of the Cholas and says that even if he were to get that capital city he would not allow himself to be separated from his beloved wife. Neḍuṉalvāḍai describes the camp life of a king who, amidst his warriors and generals, walks about in the dead of night praising their valiant deeds of the day and encouraging their further efforts for the morrow.

Among the works comprised in Padineṇkīlkaṇakku, Thirukkuṟaḷ and Nālaḍiyār deserve special mention. These two works have been rendered into English by late Rev. G. U. Pope. There are several other translations of Thirukkural in English. Rev. H. A. Popley has brought out the essence of the teachings of Thiruvaḷḷuvar, the author of Thirukkural in a little book. This is a work of great importance as it reflects the thoughts, feelings and aspirations of the Tamil people. This work, though referring to the prevalent thought of other sects living at that time, contains the quintessence of Tamilian thought on conduct in life. Dr. Albert Schweitzer stated that Thirukkuṟaḷ represents a marked degree of progress in the development of Indian or Asiatic thought and that the self-affirmation insisted upon in Thirukkuṟaḷ is contrary to self-negation contemplated in some of the Upanishads. He praised Thiruvaḷḷuvar for putting ethics of action higher than the ethics of inner perfection. The fact that Thiruvaḷḷuvar stressed the importance of being kind to other people and other creatures of the creation, that Thiruvaḷḷuvar enjoined on us that we should bear in mind how other people would react to every one of our actions and that we should learn how to live and how to let others live are enough to vouchsafe an honoured place for him among the great sages of the time.

Nālaḍiyār contains 400 verses in venba metre referring to the general conduct in life for an ascetic and a householder. These verses are said to have been composed by

several Jain saints and there is much influence of Thirukkuṟaḷ noticed in these quadruplets.

The second period—200 A.D. to 600 A.D. is probably a dark period in which either many compositions were not made, or if made, were not preserved. The political state of affairs of the country (the country came under the power of a foreign clan—the Pallavas) and the internecine warfare should be responsible for the paucity of output. At the same time, mention must necessarily be made of the five great Tamil epics, many of which appear to have been composed in this period. The place of honour goes to Cilappadikāram (or the Epic of the anklets) written by Iḷangō Aṭigal. Maṇimēkalai (or the epic of the waistlet), Cīvaka Chintāmaṇi, Vaḷaiyāpathi and Kuṇḍalakēsi are the other four great epics, some of which however were composed still later.

The period 600 to 1200 A.D. may be put down as the period of religious revival, for it is in this age that hosts of compositions on religious themes were composed by the Saiva Saints and Vaishnava Saints. These were preceded by Saint Tirumūlar who was the doyen of the Agamic faith and Siddhars like Korakkar and Sivavākkiār who represent the dissenters of the Vedic faith. It is in this period that the four great Saiva Samayāchāryar (Appar, Sambandar, Sundarar and Manickavachakar) lived and composed their devotional poems which are noteworthy not only from a philosophical point of view but also from the literary point of view. It is in this period that the twelve great Vaishnava Aḷwārs lived and gave of their best in regard to the hymns to Vishnu. These poems also are worthy of study from both philosophical and literary points of view. A war poem called "Kalingattu Paraṇi" was also composed by Jayaṅkoṇḍar who lived in the time Kulōttuṅga I (11th to 12th century A.D.) and this poem is significant from historical and lyrical points of view. It contains the genealogy of many of the Chola kings, alludes

to their wars and conquests and finally pays a tribute to Karuṇākara Toṇḍaimān, who as the Commandar-in-Chief of Kulōttuṅga's army, defeated the Telugus at the battle of Kaliṅgam. The poem is exquisite in its descriptions of the march, the battle, the victory of the Tamils and the retreat of the defeated Telugus. One can see for oneself how the artist Jayaṅkoṇḍār has used his tools of similies, metaphors, hyperboles, personification etc., in this masterpiece. It is in this period again that Sēkkilār and Kambar, the authors of Periapurāṇam and Kamba Rāmāyaṇam respectively lived. Periapurāṇam mentioning the deeds of 63 Saiva Saints is a Tamil epic which can stand comparison with any other classical poem or epic of other countries. It is not the stories contained in this work that are so remarkable as the way in which they have been told. Again, it is not the matter contained in Kamba Ramayanam that has the foremost appeal but the manner in which the story has been told. Kamban has not translated Ramayanam from the original, but the story of Rama contained in his Ramayanam is a new creation. Kamban was a master-mind who understood the psychology of the characters he was depicting. Oṭṭakūthar, Kālamēkam and other poets of this age have given valuable poems which are worth a study even today.

In the next period (1300 to 1700) appeared Villiputhūr Āḻwār and Aruṇagirināthar, two great exponents of the Vaishnavite and Saivite cults respectively. Their poems have a great appeal to the ear and consequently to the mind and to the heart. They were preceded by a host of eminent writers who expounded the principles of Saivite religion and Vaishnavite religion. It is in this period that Sivagnāṉa Bōtham by Meikaṇḍa Tēvar and Sivagnāna Siddhiār by Umāpathi Sivam, which represent the quintessence of Dravidian religious thought, were given.

Robert de Nobili arrived in Goa round about 1610 A.D. and assumed the name of Tattuva Bōdha Swami and con-

tributed greatly to Tamil Literature by his prose writings. Umaṟu Pulavar, a convert to Islam, composed in this century "Chīrāpurāṇam" an epic depicting the life and adventures of Mahomed the Prophet.

(Thāyumāṉavar composed several psalms in the 18th century A.D. which have received admiration and approbation because of the broadened and cosmopolitan outlook which he had taken. He has shown in his poems how there could be a happy combination and blending of Siddhanta and Vedanta.

Constantius Beschi alias Vīramā Muṉivar arrived at Goa in 1708 A.D. and threw his lot in the midst of the Tamils and composed several catechisms and prose treatises, including the story of Guru Noodle, the simple. He composed also an epic called Tēmpāvaṇi in which the life of St. Joseph has been marvellously told. The Lexicon, entitled "Chatura Akarāthi" which he compiled also marks a milestone in the history of lexicons in Tamil.

Āṟumuga Nāvalar of Jaffna and Rāmalinga Aḍigal of the South Arcot District contributed greatly to the thought of the time and influenced the public in a large measure in the 19th century. Āṟumuga Nāvalar was a prose writer par excellence and Rāmalinga Swāmigal was an inspired writer of devotional poetry of the period. The latter was noted for the simple and unostentatious way in which he approached the general public and his poems were not only for the learned classes but also for the masses. He propounded the view that God comes to the rescue not only of the learned and the cognates but also of the unlearned, down-trodden and uninitiated. Maha Vidwan Mīnakshisundaram Piḷḷai was a prolific writer of the 19th century, and judged by the mere quantity of poetry he has no compeers. He was responsible for giving Sthalapuranam for places which did not enjoy such privileges before.

In the modern period, the foremost star that glitters in the firmament is Subramaṇia Bhārathi, the National Poet

who sang and worked for the political independence of our country. He threw in his lot with the political sufferers of his time and spent 10 years of his precious life (he did not live longer than 40 years of age) in banishment at Pondicherry. It is there that he composed the bulk of his poems which led the people of Tamil Nad to glory and freedom. He wanted to unfetter the Tamil Muse from the shackles of rigid grammar from which she was suffering and consequently wrote poems in a simple and readable Tamil, without caring very much for the cold and rigid rules of prosody and rhetoric. Before his advent, people were prone to judge that poetry which was obscure and unintelligible as the best. Bhārathi was the first to give the death-knell to this kind of attitude and there are today several young and old poets who have followed him in the wake and whose contributions to literature are tending to be great and are promising. Kavimaṇi Dēsikavināyakam Piḷḷai wrote exquisite poetry in a simple way and his poems have a special appeal to children. Nāmakkal Kavignar, Rāmalingam Pillai, who had the honour of being made the Poet Laureate of the Madras State, also contributed greatly by his poems to the onmarch towards freedom. Bhārathidāsan, is a disciple of late Subramanya Bharathi, as is evident by his very name. Sometimes, he out-Herods Herod by his compositions. His poems have a special appeal to those that are anxious about social reforms in our country. He writes about the common man, the tiller of the soil, the hewer of wood and the drawer of water rather than about the wealthy or the powerful. Yogi Suddhānanta Bhāratiar is also widely known as a writer of both poetry and prose. Many of his poems are capable of being set to music. Vānidāsan and Muḍi Arasan are two other budding poets of this time.

Now, I shall give some extracts from poetry representative of the various periods.

The noble ideals for which one lived are mentioned by one of the poets of the third Sangam period (Pēreyiṉ

Muṟuvalār) whose poem is one of the 400 poems found in the collection entitled "Puṟanānūṟu". Speaking of a Pandya by name Nambi Neḍuñcelian who had just died he says, (Pūram, Verse 239)

> "He was wedded to a fine wife. He wore the choicest of flowers. He anointed himself with all pleasant odours. But he utterly destroyed all his enemies. He praised his friends. Because a man was mighty, he never played second fiddle to him. Because a man was meek, he never over-imposed himself on him. Never did he beg of anybody. But never did he decline to give to those in want. Quite renowned was he at the king's court. He faced bravely the armies that came against him and routed the enemies that were retreating. He was skilled in all the four kinds of warfare (the infantry, the elephantry, the charioteers and the horses.) He broke several honey pots for his friends. He sumptuously fed his songsters. Never did he speak a dubious word. Thus did he live, doing all that should be done. So let him be buried or let him be burnt. It does not matter, because he has established his reputation already in this world."

THIRUVALLUVAR has the message that one can either be a householder or an ascetic and yet prosper well and attain bliss. Sometimes, stray verses from Thirukkuṟal are cited to show that Thiruvaḷḷuvar placed the life of an ascetic over and above the life and doings of a man pursuing domestic life. Yet one can cite authority for the other view also as follows:—

For instance, in Kural 48 he says that the householder who, not swerving from virtue, helps the ascetic in his way of life, endures more than those who endure penance. In Kuṟaḷ 38 he says that he who suffers no day to pass unimproved but (continually) does some good will have by such conduct a great stone by which he can stop the approach of further births.

He has laid stress on the attitude of the heart rather than on the externals of religion. In Kuṟaḷ 34 he says whatever is done with a spotless mind is virtue ; all else is vain show. In another place (in Kuṟaḷ 280) he says that there is no use of a shaven crown or of tangled hair, if one abstains from such deeds as the wise have condemned.

The message of Thiruvaḷḷuvar is not pessimistic but optimistic. He has asked us to brave dangers, and to stand four square to all the winds that blow. More than this, he has asked us to be cheerful under adverse circumstances. (see for instance Kuṟaḷ 621—If troubles come, simply laugh ; there is nothing like laughter which can overcome sorrow). In another place, he pities people who cannot be cheerful at all. In Kuṟaḷ 99 he says, " To those who cannot rejoice, the wide world is buried in darkness even in broad daylight ". One of the ways in which one can be cheerful is to avoid wrath. He asks in Kuṟaḷ 294, " Is there a greater enemy than anger, which kills both laughter and joy ? " Sometimes, Thiruvaḷḷuvar is looked upon as having underlined the inexorable nature of fate. Though in a chapter (Chap. 38) he has stressed the importance of fate and though in the concluding couplet of that chapter he has asked " What is stronger than fate ? If we think of an expedient to avert it, it will appear through that expedient itself ", in other places he has held up the free will of man (as in Chap. 62 on manly effort), where in the concluding couplet he says, " they who strive hard without fatigue or desperation or delay will vanquish fate and throw it out. " In four chapters, especially, (Chapters 60 to 63), entitled " On Energy, Against Idleness, On Manly Effort, On Perseverence in spite of difficulties " he has laid the greatest emphasis possible on the free will of man and has removed the misconception that man is God's sport and that all his doings have been pre-ordained or pre-determined. Thiruvaḷḷuvar has stressed the importance of good conduct in life. His Chapter on propriety of conduct (Chap. 14) is well worth a complete study.

Kalittokai contains fine lyrical poems on love. At the same time, they present to us high ideals in life and satisfy the condition that true poetry must have high seriousness. In poem No. 10, the maid of a lady-in-love, while describing the desert region through which the lover has to pass, states that the desert is full of dry, leafless, tall trees. In this connection, the similies used by her are worthy of consideration. Even as a poor man, though young, cannot enjoy happiness and consequently becomes despondent, the branches of the trees have withered. Just as the wealth of a narrow minded miser is useless to others, the shade of the tree is absolutely useless to those that might resort to the tree for any shelter. Even as a man who has been rude to others has consequently suffered in reputation, the roots of the tree are affected by the rudeness of the blazing sun. Just as the shelter given by the ruler of a kingdom who persecutes and tortures his subjects due to greed of money is useless, the shade given by the tall withered trees is absolutely useless.

In another verse, the trees which blossom forth finely and fully are compared to the wealth of a tireless persevering man (poem 35).

In yet another poem (No. 125) people who do surreptitious things apparently because of their notion that no one sees them at the time, are required to remember that after all they cannot escape the prickings of their conscience. This also occurs in the words addressed by a maid to the lover of her beloved friend.

This work abounds in romantic scenes. A lover finds his beloved lass on her way home after milking cows and accosts her. In this way a poem commences (No. 116). The lass asks him why he stands across her path, takes hold of her calf and prevents her from going. She appeals to him to leave her. He asks her not to be angry at the moment. She tells him that if her mother saw him thus worrying her she would pounce upon him just as a cow would pounce

upon a person who touches the new-born calf. And he tells her "I do not mind whether your mother comes or your father comes or others come. If only you will have mercy on me I will remain unaffected. She speaks further as follows :—

"You do not pay heed to my words but insist on saying that you want me and bandy word for word with me. Unabashed, you are coming to the place where I go with the milking bowl". In this way, the girl is supposed to have indicated the place for their secret meeting.

Another girl had been in love with a teen-aged boy. They had met before but have not been married yet. She describes her dream in one of the poems (No. 128). She met him and asked why he had given her up contrary to the promise held out by him before. And he touched her and said that he would never thereafter be separated from her. She asked him with tears how he had forgotten the pleasures of her bedside and he replied, "O, how is it that you have become caged and confined like the pea-hen ?" So saying he fell at her feet. Taking the flower garland from her head, she beat him with it as though she were beating him with a stick, and he trembled and asked "What wrong have I done to deserve this ? Are'nt you a fool ? This dream she narrates to her maid and says that because she has dreamt thus, her beloved friend is sure to come back. In this hope, she says that she is alive.

In another poem (No. 110) which is in the nature of a dialogue between the lover and his beloved of the forest region the similies used are significant. The girl says, "I allowed you to touch me but you want to embrace me. And you think that the woman who gives her cup of buttermilk out of charity also will give butter for the mere asking ? He replies "Just as the rope in the churning stick goes to and fro, my mind, despite my efforts, is in the process of going to you, returning to me and again going back to you. Just as the cow, even during day time does not

want to stir out of the stable out of love and concern for the new-born calf, my mind would never go away from here leaving you. You have taken away my life and spirit with you, just as butter has been removed from the milk after churning. How can I live without you ?" She replies, "What a pity ! You dare tell me things such as that without me you wouldn't live. Don't you see that my relatives are there ? Go, I will pass along this side tomorrow also for grazing of the calf". The idea is that she has given him hope of meeting on the morrow.

The author of *Cilappadikāram* was Iḷankō Aṭikaḷ, the younger brother of Cheṅkuṭṭuvan, the Chēra King. He had renounced the world in order that the words uttered by an astrologer that he would become king might not come true. He thought that if he were to become king it would be to the detriment of his elder brother. He was of such a lovable and selfless disposition. He lived the life of an ascetic and years later composed this epic.

Iḷankō must have had before him a crude outline of the story of Kōvalan̲'s life. He has raised the story to the epic level by incorporating into the work supernatural events which, however, are made to appear probable. Such, for instance, are the words addressed to the Sun-God by Kaṇṇaki and his answer proclaiming from the heavens that her husband was not a thief.

> Pāytirai vēlip paduporul nīariythi
> Kāyakatirc celvanē kalvanō enkaṇavan ?

asked Kaṇṇaki, and straight came the reply

> Kalvanō allan karunkayarkaṇ mātarāy
> Olleri unnum ivvūr.

A poet thinks of acts and events greater and more historical than a historian can record.

Kaṇṇaki, the heroine represents the type of Tamil womanhood which assumes heroic stature when wronged.

The very sight of her in the court of the king, forlorn, dismayed and furious was enough to strike a note of terror into the hearts of the king and his men. That scene truly evokes pity and fear. Her innocent husband had been murdered without proper enquiry. She knew that her husband had not stolen the anklets of the queen ; she knew that by mistaking her own anklets for the queen's he had been killed. She could not rest until she proved that her husband was not guilty. Her strength was the strength of hundred as she was pure. Hence when she appeared before the king she spoke in a reproachful language :

> Tērā mannā ceppuvatudaiyēn ;
> Narriram padarā korkai vāntē !

When the Pāṇḍyan king asked her who she was and what business brought her there, her reply was given in such a manner as to give us the impression that she knew the procedure of the court. She began by describing the place of her origin, mentioned the names of her husband and his father and gave out her own name. She said to him, ' My husband came to your city with a view to setting up a business, O ! valiant king ! He came here to sell the ornament worn by me at the ankle but alas ! he has been killed ". These words are replete with significance. They imply that she and her husband had passed through several forests where wild beasts roam and that they who had emerged safe through the thick woods and deserts had suffered injury in a city inhabited by human beings and ruled over by the Pandyan king. They imply further that a king who was responsible for killing a guiltless person cannot be deemed valiant and that after all it was for the ornament of her foot (and not the head) that Kōvalaṉ her husband had been the victim.

The moment she proved with the aid of her matching anklet that her husband was not the thief the Pandya king repented and fell down dead. The language in which this is couched is remarkable for its poetic beauty :—

Tālnta kudaiyan Talarnta cenkōlan
Poncey kollan tancor kētta
Yānō arasan yānē kalvan
Manpatai kākkum Tenpulam kāval
Enmutal pilaittatu keduka en āyulena
Mannavan mayanki vīlntananē.

As soon as the king saw the diamond spurting from the broken anklet, he became conscious of his mistake and regarded him as one who was no longer fit to rule the land, as one who has failed to give succour to the helpless, as one whose sceptre has weakened. He exclaimed "Am I a king ? No, I am the thief. The pride with which we, the Pandyas, have been guarding all the creatures against evil is gone, gone with me ! Let me die ! " This is but my imperfect rendering in English of a portion of the Tamil original.

MĀNICKAVĀCHAKAR, in one of his devotional lyrics speaks to his mind accosting it as a mind comparable to a corpse. He says further, "O! Guideless Mind ! You do not dance, nor do you sing of the Lord of cosmic Dance. You have no love for Him. Should you not sing with great fervour ? Are you not worried with the burden of your sins ? You don't bow ! You don't cherish the Feet of the Lord ! Nor do you offer flowers at the Feet of the Lord ! You never seek Him ! You don't roam about the streets in search of Him. I wonder what to do ! " (poem 35).

In another verse, he compares himself to Yama, the Destroyer who after coming into conflict with the Lord actually surrendered himself and gained His Feet (while capturing the life of Markandeya). That is to say, Manickavachakar alluded to the time when he had not completely done devotional and pious deeds and yet was hoping to receive the grace of God by occasionally offending Him. He appeals to God in another verse (No. 54) to shower His grace on him in the following manner :—

"All-knowing Lord ! Nectar ! Do you take me, this slave, into you fold because I am learned ? When you

showered your bliss on me, did you not see that I was ignorant ? O ! God ! whether I am a learned man or not, give me your grace." In another verse (No. 98) of Thiruchathakam, he points out the totally undeserving nature of man to receive heavenly bliss and the sweet, condescending attitude of the Almighty who was anxious to bestow it on man. He says, "I have no enduring love of you, O ! Sweet Lord ! You have made me, however, a disciple of yours by the skill with which you can make fine fruits of hard stones. There is no bound to your gracefulness. Whatever I might do or whatever I might take, O ! Lord, I beseech you to bless me and to show me your feet. In another place (verse No. 407) he implores the Lord to forgive his sins and to rescue him. He says thus :—" O ! Lord, who has conquered the foes and subdued them and made even an ornament of them ! O ! Lord ! who, out of grace, has taken the burden of bearing the Ganga on your head ! When I do abhorrent things out of my nature to err, you will, out of your generosity, forgive me. By your grace, let there be no more birth for me. I am your slave. I will surrender myself."

In yet another place (verse No. 94) Māṇickavāchakar is hopeful that if he wept bitterly he would obtain God's grace. He speaks, "I am a phantom ; my heart is nothing ; my love is false. Yet, wicked as I am, if I pray and weep I can attain you. O ! Sweet Lord, Sweet as honey, Sweet as Nectar and Sweet as sugar-crush. O ! Almighty ! Tell me how I can attain you and bless me !"

KULASEKARA ĀLWĀR in his devotional songs addressed to the Lord Vishnu (Perumāl Thirumozhi—5th decade) makes a fervent appeal for obtaining His grace pointing out his own helplessness if God does not come to his rescue. He says, "There is no succour but your own Feet, O ! Lord of Vittuvakōḍu. If you do not destroy my distress where else can I find shelter ? Even if the tender child's own mother casts it aside out of great wrath, the

child looks up to her for being restored to her favour. Likewise, even if you frown on me I will hold you dear ".

" Even if the surgeon uses his surgical tools, the patient looks up to him with love for the curing of the disease. Likewise, even if you try me with tribulations and troubles I will only look up to you for your kind grace ".

'O ! Lord of Vittuvakōḍu, where can I find refuge except at your sacred Feet ? After straying in all directions over the ocean just as a bird comes back to the mast of the ship for perching, wherever I might wander I shall be coming back to you, beseeching your kind grace. "

That KAMBAR has understood the psychology of the characters he was portraying can be borne out by one of the padalams in Ayōdhya Kāndam (Kaikēyi Cūlviṉai paḍalam). Here according to the story, Kaikēyi reminding Dasarathaṉ of his two old boons persuades him to send away to the forest his dear son, Rama by one of those boons and gets the kingdom for her own son, Bharathan by the other. The art with which this incident is narrated is worthy of admiration. Kaikēyi is represented as having been determined in her mind about the two boons she was pressing. Though Dasarathaṉ voluntarily granted those boons at an earlier time when she had assisted him in one of his wars by charioteering for his sake and though now on being reminded he has willingly agreed to grant them, when he was told about the two actual boons required of him, he hesitated. He tried to persuade her not to be stubborn in regard to her pound of flesh. When persuasion failed he was about to be aggressive. He fretted and fumed and said that he would kill all women because they might be as cruel as his own wife. For sometime, he vascillated between keeping the word and deviating from it. He says, " How cruel is Duty ! Will not truth die ? " So saying he falls down. All this is because of his inordinate love for his first and dear son, Rama. So, now he tries to escape from the promise. He falls at the feet of Kaikēyi and im-

plores her to withdraw her second request, namely that Rama should go to the forest. But Kaikēyi is firm and reminds him of his honour of keeping up his word. She reminds him of the line of kings (to which he belongs) who were all anxious to keep up their honour in their own days. Dasarathaṉ had desired that Rama should become king. He had made that announcement in the open court. What is to come of that word ? He feels frustrated and thwarted. There ensues a conflict in his mind regarding the line of action he is to choose. He becomes angry and hates Kaikēyi who thwarts him. He tries to place the blame for the thwarting on persons who are not responsible for this situation at all. He has now to choose between moral and less moral modes of conduct. Ultimately, he prefers the remote goal to the nearer goal. After a period of conflict, indecision, vascillation and struggle within himself he decides to keep his word. The choice is due to his character and will power. He therefore wills to do that which he does not want to do. Thus it is that he ultimately agrees to sending away Rama to the forest. Already he has granted the other boon, namely, that Bharatha should rule the kingdom. It is marvellous to find that Kamban has applied these processes in the delineation of the character of Dasarathaṉ.

SUBRAMANIA BHARATHI pleaded for the emancipation of women, who out of false notions which developed in mediaeval society were put down as chattels or slaves. In one of his poems on womanhood he says, " Let us dance saying let womanhood flourish ; let us dance saying let womanhood conquer ". The terms Mother and Wife invoke in us a tenderness, happiness and joy.

" Let us dance peacefully saying let love live long ; let us clap our hands and bless real love ; we can be free from distress only because of womanhood ; Is not woman mother of mighty heroes ? The suckling child imbibes strength from Mother ; the wife's words bring honour to

man ; women's duties drive away destruction ; let us clasp our hands and merrily dance ".

" Let us raise our shoulders and dance saying 'obeisance to Mother' ; let us praise the loving doves ; at the behest of a woman of the fine waist we will pull asunder hundreds of hills ".

" Let our cymbals ring with the note 'obeisance to Mother' ; let our flutes play the note 'Bowing to Mother' ; at the behest of the loving women of charming eyes we will soar above the winds and offer threat to the heavens. "

In another place (Bharathi Sixty-Six) he again puts in a strong plea for the upliftment of women. He asks, " If we want to subdue our own wives, should we enslave the entire other sex ? Should we not regard our Mother who begot us and brought us up as a real Goddess ? O ! unkind friends ? "

Bharathi's poems are noteworthy because of the spirit of courage which they instil into the people. In his famous poem entitled " No Fear ", he starts saying " No Fear, No Fear, there is absolutely No Fear. Even if the whole world marches against us, no fear, no fear, there is absolutely no fear ; Even if the world slanders us treating us lightly, no fear, no fear, there is absolutely no fear. Even if we are reduced to begging alms, no fear, no fear, there is absolutely no fear. Even if all our dear friends are lost, no fear, no fear, there is absolutely no fear ".

" Even when lovely ladies send their ogling glances, no fear, no fear, there is absolutely no fear. Even when loving friends bring poison and feed no fear, no fear, there is absolutely no fear.

" Even when bloody spears are hurled against us, no fear, no fear, there is absolutely no fear. Even when the heavens crash and fall on our heads, no fear, no fear, there is absolutely no fear ".

I will now briefly allude to a folk song composed by Bhārathi Dāsaṉ in order to show how dexterously he puts modern ideas into the mouths of his speakers. He sings, "Brother, there is no caste; there is no man who is high nor low; look at our Thirukkural which has come to remove our moss; brother, justice is the same to all, to all those who live in this broad world. Justice is the same to woman and to man."

"Dear brother, your discerning knowledge is but the green light signal for you; with that green light you must seek the proper path. Brother, there is no fear, if you are on the right path. Beware of hypocrisy! beware! beware!"

These are but a few representative specimens intended to introduce Tamil poetry to the readers.

Worship in Spirit and Truth

(The following translation of a verse of Tāimānavar by Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan is to be found in *the Stratford Anthology of Favourite Quotations of Eminent Men and Women*, compiled by Ronald Petrie, (George G. Harrap, p. 176).

அங்கிங் கெனுதபடி யெங்கும்ப்ர காசமா
    யானந்த பூர்த்தியாகி
அருளொடு நிறைந்ததெது தன்னருள் வெளிக்குளே
    யகிலாண்ட கோடியெல்லாம்
தங்கும் படிக்கிச்சை வைத்துயிர்க் குயிராய்த்
    தழைத்ததெது மனவாக்கினில்
தட்டாம லின்றதெது சமயகோ டிகளெலாந்
    தந்தெய்வ மெந்தெய்வமென்
றெங்குந் தொடர்ந்தெதிர் வழக்கிடவு நின்றதெது
    வெங்கணும் பெருவழக்காய்
யாதினும் வல்லவொரு சித்தாகி யின்பமா
    யென்றைக்கு முள்ளதெதுமேல்
கங்குல்பக லறநின்ற வெல்லையுள தெதுவது
    கருத்திற் கிசைந்தததுவே
கண்டன வெலாமோன வுருவெளிய தாகவுங்
    கருதியஞ் சலிசெய்குவாம்.

What is That which of Grace is full, which is neither here nor there only, but is everywhere as the Fullness of Peace ?

What is That which, willing myriads of worlds to float in the expanse of Its Grace, is the Life of all things living ?

What is That which the mind cannot grasp and speech cannot define ?

What is That which exists impartially, while countless Creeds in every land claim It, each as its own ?

Amid such contending claims, what is That which endlessly is Knowledge, Love and Power ?

What is That whose bourne is without day or night ?

That indeed is soul-satisfying !

That let us worship, deeming all things visible as Phenomena in the expanse of the Silent Spirit.

Official Language of the Indian Union

Proceedings of the Union Language Convention of South India

A big convention of prominent public men of South India today made a unanimous demand that English should continue as the official language of the Indian Union. The Convention also wanted that the Constitution should be amended to achieve this purpose.

A Seven-man Committee of Action with Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Dr. M. Ruthnaswami, Messrs. P. Kodanda Rao, P. T. Rajan, A. Subbiah and S. Chellaswami was appointed to get the demand of the Convention accepted by the Government of India.

The large gathering of politicians, businessmen and educationists, heard for over three hours at the Srinivasa Sastri Hall, Mr. Mirza Ismail, Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, Rajaji and others advance forcible arguments in favour of their demand that the Central Government should give up its proposal to adopt Hindi as the official language.

"English Ever, Hindi Never"—a slogan coined by Mr. P. Kodanda Rao for the Convention—formed the central theme of the speeches.

Mr. Mirza Ismail, in an outspoken speech, declared emphatically that Hindi was not and would never become a "truly" national language in the sense that a language was national in its own right, historic process and natural acceptance. Imposition of such a language, which was essentially alien to large numbers of people, would mar a sense of oneness.

Dr. Ramaswami Iyer, making generous use of his experiences during his world travels and citing instances of other countries

asserted that English should be there if they desired advancement politically, scientifically and culturally.

Dr. Ramaswami Iyer, who was repeatedly cheered by the gathering, quoted the constitutional provision on Hindi itself against the present " official language " policy of the Government of India.

C. R.'s Call to State Government

Rajaji, who has been spearheading the movement against replacement of English, sounded a note of warning to the State Government that the battle against Hindi would be lost, if they accepted Hindi alongside English. No battle was won by following the path of least resistance, Rajaji said.

He added : " Our Government has followed the line of least resistance. It may solve the immediate problem of friction but it would never solve the problem of understanding. It was not good to compromise and the State's suggestion would bring in lot of difficulties later on."

Equally stern was Rajaji's warning to people " up in the North " against their attempts to force Hindi in the name of patriotism. Rajaji would never believe that they were motivated by a desire to dominate but even if they had that desire, they would be well advised to leave the *status quo* to continue.

A message from Dr. M. R. Jayakar expressed complete agreement with the views of the Convention. The message received from the Gokhale Institute of Public Affairs and others were read by Mr. S. Chellaswami.

Big Crowd

Admission to the Convention was confined to delegates and to invitees only. But the importance of the subject and the rare combination of personalities participating in the convention drew a sizable crowd of youthful intellects ouside who for a while raised loud protestations against being kept out. The Sastry Hall proved too inadequate for the purpose and the crowd had to be pacified by some being allowed to squeeze themselves into the already crowded hall and others being provided on the ground floor. Loud speaker arrangement was made even outside.

Mr. M. Ruthnaswamy, Chairman of the Reception Committee, in the course of his speech pleaded for driving away unnecessary issues from consideration. The issue now was about the official language and not about the national language and considering the question from that standpoint, there was hardly any room for importing sentiment or emotion. They had to consider the question of language as an instrument of administration for official and political work, from a purely utilitarian point of view. The question really was whether or not the use of English as official language facilitated administration and whether substitution of any other Indian language would be more useful than English as an instrument of administration.

Mr. Ruthnaswamy pointed out that one of the arguments used by the Official Language Commission for substitution of Hindi for English was that the country's administration was now being carried on in a language which was not understood by 90 per cent of the people. One might ask a counter question whether the administration of a country could be carried on by a people, 80 per cent of whom were illiterate. Among the Hindi-speaking people only 20 per cent were literates and in the non-Hindi areas not even 5 or 10 per cent were literate in Hindi. He added that English language, however much one might dislike it being a foreign language, had introduced certain traditions and conventions of administrative work. Till the middle of 18th century, Latin was used as a language of official documents in the west and French was used as a language in diplomatic documents. None of those people rejected the utility of those languages as being something alien to them.

Madras Government's Decision

Then there was the question raised by the decision of the Madras Government to have English and Hindi as the languages of administration. One need only imagine the complications, the running of these two languages in parallel lines would lead to. One of the chronic evils of Indian administration was delay and there would be further delay in getting the correspondence translated from one language to the other and registering and re-registering them.

He also expressed the fear that the Gresham's law of inferior coins driving out the superior ones might operate here also. He asked whether this equalisation of Hindi with English as against the

regional languages, would not strengthen the cry of Northern domination.

"Having posed these questions I will leave the discussion of the matter to the meeting," he said and thanked the organisers for giving him the honour of being the Chairman of the Reception Committee. He requested Mr. C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer to take the chair.

Inaugurating the Convention, Mr. Mirza Ismail said they had assembled there to express their most emphatic opposition to the attempts being made to impose Hindi upon the country as official language of the Union. In that they were performing "a sacred duty, not to sectional interests but to our motherland."

"We recognise the sincerity and excellence of the motives which has inspired the proposal—the desire to foster a consciousness of unity in the country. Undoubtedly that effect would be produced by the possession of a truly national language—one that is national in its own right by historic process and natural acceptance.

"But Hindi is not, nor I think can it ever become, such a language. (applause). It is the language of a section, though a large one, of our people. Its cultivation in other areas is laudable enough but purely artificial (laughter). We can never be brought to a sense of oneness by the imposition of something essentially alien to so many."

Mr. Mirza Ismail added that in fact this attempt at imposition of Hindi was having precisely the effect opposite to that intended. It was not promoting unity, but emphasising and increasing disunity and creating deep antagonism.

In a country where there was so much division, of one kind or another, the statesman's unifying task was of extraordinary difficulty and delicacy. Differences must be recognised, as necessarily affecting the whole, and occasions of deep antagonism must be avoided.

He thought it was a mistake to call it 'Hindi' instead of Hindusthani. The Hindi that was broadcast daily by the All-India Radio at present was an "undeveloped, stilted language and highly Sanskritised, rendering it unattractive and unintelligible, to many. We, therefore, earnestly appeal to our fellow countrymen in the North

to pause, reflect and abandon a policy fraught with danger to the unity and stability of the country.

" In these days of Government by publicity and persuasion, there are certain problems which we should do well to leave to time to solve for us. This language question is one such. Let us give time a chance. A solution effected by time is generally found to be the most enduring and the most satisfactory. Let us wait, just wait," he said and added that meanwhile English should continue to be the official language of the Union Government and be allowed to play its useful part as a unifying and cementing force.

English had served them splendidly so far, he said, and they might be sure this service would continue provided they did not so shape their educational policy as to deprive themselves of this tried and effective instrument.

No one, of course, was pretending that English was that national language which Hindi failed to be. But it was, for these official purposes and for other essential purposes, too, a common language, and that was what they needed. And apart from that, any such weakening of their English heritage, as would inevitably result from the proposed change, would be a most grievous misfortune. " We have in India outward and inward riches of our own, but isolation—commercial, cultural, political, social—would actually diminish these, while depriving us of so much else.

" To us, who are met here, it is clear that this Hindi project means two deadly things—first the sharpening and continuance of antagonisms in India, and second, isolation, the rejection of our place in the World ".

Concluding Mr. Ismail said that among the organizers of the Convention were men whose eminence as all-India patriots and as statesmen having insight into the life and needs of the country was universally acknowledged. " It was good that they were thus speaking out their mind and I trust that those in authority will heed their counsel. I wish every success to this Convention and the cause it stands for."

C. P.'s Address

Delivering the presidential address, Dr. C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer characterised the occasion as momentous and fateful, which called

for plain speaking (Laughter). He prefaced his observations by insisting that he had no personal prejudice against Hindi whatsoever. It was he who inaugurated the first Hindi Prachar Sabha in Madras some 40 years ago. More recently he had laid the foundation stone to a building devoted to the cultivation of Hindi in Ootacamund, which he had made his second home. He did so because it was a language which was spoken by a large number of persons and served as a passport to travel outside the limits of Madras in this country just as a knowledge of German, French or Spanish became necessary while travelling abroad. " So, likewise in this country, if you travel outside Tamilnad, you must know something of that language which is called Hindi. I deliberately use that expression" (Laughter).

Dr. Ramaswamy Iyer went on to explain how the language was evolved during the days of the Moghul emperors. They set up military camps in various places, in Agra, Delhi, Punjab, Muzaffarpur and Dacca and the soldiers, who had come from various parts of India and lived in those camps, 'manufactured' for their purposes a language out of Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit, a little of the local dialect and so forth. Now, Hindi was more or less of that type (Laughter).

Directive in Constitution

Dr. Ramaswamy Iyer then observed that more often it happened that legislators enacting statutes sometimes uttered words of wisdom which they were not themselves fully apprehensive of. Article 351 of the Constitution made it clear that Hindi was a language " which is not made, but is in the making." It was still growing and was expected to grow and it was not a language which could be said to be a language in the sense that Sanskrit or Latin, Greek, English, French, Persian or Arabic were. Article 351 was a special directive which had no statutory force and on which one could not go to a Court. " It shall be the duty of the Union to promote the spread of the Hindi language, to develop it so that it may serve as a medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India....".

Dr. Ramaswamy Iyer drew pointed attention to the words " composite culture " which meant the Dravidian culture, North Indian, Assamese and Punjabi culture. First it ought to combine

the essential outward aspects of these cultures and then attempts should be made " to secure its enrichment."—It was still rather poor (Laughter) — " by assimilating without interfering with its genius, the forms, style and expressions used in Hindustani and in the other languages of India specified in the Eighth Schedule and by drawing, wherever necessary or desirable, for its vocabulary, primarily on Sanskrit and secondarily on other languages." That was the Hindi language. It was only then that they could discuss this question of making it an official language, quietly, dispassionately and sensibly and not until then—not until Directive 351 was satisfied.

DIFFERENT HINDIS

Turning to another aspect, Dr. Ramaswamy Iyer said he himself knew Hindi. Mr. Rajagopalachariar knew Hindi. Hindi as spoken by Mr. Abul Kalam Azad could not be understood either by C. R. or by himself. Whereas Mr. Azad was importing into Hindi more Persian expressions, C. R. and himself approached it with a background of their Sanskrit knowledge, " thus enriching its composite culture " (Laughter).

Then there were other people also who spoke Hindi. What took place in Parliament on November 18 was an example. Mr. Amul Chand put a number of supplementaries and the Deputy Minister, Mrs. Lakshmi Menon said she could not understand the question. The Prime Minister, who intervened, also said that he himself had not understood what the member was saying, but nevertheless " was prepared to give the answer " (Laughter). In other words, he and C. R. could not know Azad's Hindi and Prime Minister and Mrs. Lakshmi Menon could not understand Amul Chand's Hindi. It was also his experience at the Benares University that students from Bihar were not properly understood by students of U.P. Now, Tulsidas's particular dialect called Vraja Basha, was a language presumably spoken by some of the Yadavas. Surdas wrote in a somewhat different dialect. Vraja Basha was not the spoken Hindi in Delhi. It might be seen that unlike Tamil, Telugu, Kanarese or Malayalam, which were perfect and stabilised, Hindi lacked a definite vocabulary, syntax and grammar.

Dealing with the question of Hindi being made the official language, Dr. Ramaswamy Iyer referred to Art. 344 (3) of the Constitution, which laid a directive to the Language Commission

that in making their recommendations, the Commission shall have due regard to the industrial, cultural and scientific advancement of India, and the just claims and the interests of persons belonging to the non-Hindi speaking areas in regard to the public services. The main object of this gathering, he said, would be to insist upon a full appraisal and investigation of the root meaning of this article and sub-article. Did the proposal now put forward before the country serve the industrial, cultural, and scientific advancement of India? Did it meet the just claims and interests of the non-Hindi speaking people? The answer to these questions was an emphatic 'No.'

Dr. Ramaswamy Iyer added that nobody could say that resurgent China of today was very friendly either to the U.S. or to England, both of which were English-speaking. Just a few weeks ago that country had perfected a law, which was in the making when he visited these a year ago, to substitute Latin alphabets for their own ideographical alphabets. China was giving up its most appreciated art of ideographic writing for the purpose of bringing unity in the world and making China more effective and international instrument as harbinger of culture and as one of the progenitors of industrial and communistic policy.

Again, Dr. Ramaswamy Iyer added, it would be found that in Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Latvia, Lithuania and Russia, English had been made compulsory in all elementary schools. Why, he asked. Because it was a mode of convenient expression. Until the 18th century nobody in Europe read books in English. Bacon wrote his book in Latin so that it might be read in the world. The Dutch philosopher, Sporttem, did not write either in Dutch, French or German, but in Latin. Frederic the Great of Germany, one of the potent forces in the 18th century, invited Voltaire to improve the German language with his French culture and literature.

Continuing Dr. Ramaswamy Iyer said they were discussing these things because languages were needed as an instrument of culture, for business, for international relations and as a mother-tongue. In the whole of these discussions one thing that should be remembered was that nothing that was done by legislation or by ordinance could derogate from the fundamental and basic importance of the mother-tongue, which was the sole medium by which

the child first perceived and recognised the effects of the universe and came into being with them.

NOT A JOKE

He added that it was not often realised that the spread of knowledge and increase in learning of development and research were today embodied and enshrined not in text-books so much as in periodicals and journals. A knowledge of German or French and English would be necessary. Of course, the Government might take steps to translate into Hindi all the periodicals as they came, but the translation alone might cost them all the crores of money needed for developmental programmes (Laughter). It was not a joke.

His submission, therefore, was that at present Hindi was still a language in the making and it required to develop. " Let it develop and we wish it godspeed. When it develops, we can have another meeting and pass another set of resolutions " (Laughter). This pertinacious emphasis on Hindi was an injustice to the cultural background and cultural depth of our country, and acted as a serious handicap and hampered the development of literary, journalistic and political life. Further, to say that Hindi should be the medium for official transaction would be to give undue advantage to 40 per cent of the people of India by making the rest suffer. In competitive examinations and official correspondence, a certain standard had to be set up and, naturally the choice would go in favour of a certain people.

On the cultural side, Dr. Ramaswamy Iyer emphasised, they were to take the greatest possible advantage of the accumulated culture of all the literature and mental make-up of the world. In the past, that task was done by Sanskrit and if an attempt had been made 50 years ago to do exactly for Hindi what should have been done for Sanskrit, the problem would not have been so difficult as it was today. Because, there had been less opposition then to Sanskrit as a kind of official or national language. But, that might be a matter of difficulty just now. For many centuries, just as Latin or Greek was in Europe, Sanskrit had served as a language of culture and learning. Today, there was no doubt that a large number of books both of instruction and amusement, illustrative of world problems, had been written in any one of the languages—English,

French, German. It was necessary for us to be abreast of the times. As it was, it would be impossible, even to adherents of Hindi, to write in Hindi text-books in mathematics, biology, physics, etc., except by using of words polyglot. Dr. Ramaswamy Iyer added that they had reached a certain stage in politics, democracy, government and of scientific organisation. By certain influences we had had exceptional opportunities to develop. If we lost them now, we would be losing them for ever.

A Gujerat Example

Giving an example Dr. Ramaswamy Iyer said that in Gujerat they had made Gujerathi compulsory to M.A. standard. He had an opportunity of addressing the students once. It was common knowledge that a speaker of some experience could know whether his audience was listening to him or not. What he found there was that the students there, were strangely silent, looking at the ceiling or picking up something and all the while remaining absolutely immune to any injections by him (Laughter). They were University students. Similarly, in the Benares University they brought a German to teach the students political economy. The students hooted at him because he could not address them in Hindi and the result was that he resigned and went away. The dethroning of English from the place it held for cultural development and higher education, had resulted in our students withering away. The question was could we afford to do so.

Finally in international gatherings the success or failure of the exercise of influence of Mr. Nehru, Mr. Krishna Menon or Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari was conditional upon their putting their ideas or 'selling' their ideas and unless they did that in a language understood by the other side, they could not succeed. Therefore, Dr. Ramaswamy Iyer said the claims of the mother tongue and of English as passport to culture, handling world problems and emphasising our ideas was important. He hoped that their prayers would be pondered upon and listened to.

No Speculation

Mr. Rajagopalachari, who sponsored the main resolution, said the issue before them was confined to the official language of the Union. What Dr. Ramaswami Iyer said about the broader aspects

of the problem was also important and obvious too. But even the obvious was not seen by men moved by passion. That was the difficulty when great issues were taken up. It was difficult for fire-eaters on the other side to come to a decision. "But for a man like me, who is not a fire-eater, it has been an anxious and difficult matter. No one appreciates more than I the necessity for unity—cultural unity and national unity—for a single national language, if we have one. But, as speakers have pointed out, we have to deal with the present situation."

When dealing with measures for the progress of the nation, Rajaji said they could not behave in a speculative manner. The question was whether the English language, which had been prevailing as the official language for ten years since independence should be disturbed. What was the reason for throwing away the advantages derived from the use of English for 150 years? It was "uneconomic, impolitic and foolish" to throw away the advantages just for the sake of sentiment. That was why he wanted everyone to consider the matter with care.

Ministers' Absence

They were all interested in the question but why then the Ministers in the Madras Government were not present at the Convention, Rajaji asked. "I want you to remember and reflect on it. Is it because they are not taking interest? No, they are taking interest and they are bound to take interest. Or, is it because they have not been invited? I know it is true they have been invited. Why then they are not here—difficulty caused by politics?"

Rajaji said a single party ruled India now and the same party rules the States. When there were conflicts between the requirements of the State Government and the ideal requirements of the Union Government, men found it difficult to decide. "That is the reason why Ministers should wait for your decision rather than plunge into it one way or the other. They prefer to go forward driven by you from behind rather than they speak out their own minds. Now don't you see why Ministers are not here? (Laughter). It is necessary to get the required strength from us here. It is all the more important that we should, with united voice, pass this resolution. It is only then that the Government, now hesitating to take over steps in the matter, can get sufficient strength to do what

they wish to do and what it is their duty to do. It is, therefore, important that we should, all of us, join together in this wholeheartedly, not minding the absence of the representative of the Government of Madras. They are absent for a particular reason, if you can appreciate it, not that they are inattentive."

United Opposition

Rajaji said that in deciding this question neither individual nor party interests should come into play. If an individual was ever interested in his own career, he would not be able to do much to the political party to which he belonged because he would always be obsessed with what was good for him. Similarly, if one looked always to party interests, he would not be able to do good to the larger interests. If everyone cast away his individual or party interests, then surely the resolution he sponsored would be found acceptable. All parties should be able to unite on this resolution.

Each one of the points in the resolution was important, Rajaji observed and all of them were overwhelming in their effect. He hoped that it would produce the same effect on the Union Government also.

Even though Parliament decided matters, yet it was on the initiative of the Executive of the Union Government depended largely what the Parliament finally did. There was a great deal of noise sometimes in Parliament but in the end when the Prime Minister raised his finger, things were done. They should take this factor into account.

" We are in a battle ", Mr. Rajagopalachari continued. " We have to fight against overwhelming opposition against us. Most of you live in the South and you do not know the feelings of the people of the North about this question. Feelings are very strong up in the North and if the South, West Bengal, and other non-Hindi areas have to win in this battle, they will have to act powerfully, united and with vigilance. Otherwise you won't succeed. There is much talk of domination of the South by the North. North will not be able to dominate unless the South divides itself. If the South goes on dividing itself, then surely we will be dominated by the North, East or West. We should be united not only on issues generally but on this issue in particular."

"This", Rajaji emphasized, "is the most real question. It is imminent and it is not postponed. Things cannot be done 15 years hence unless they begin now. Therefore, it is imminent. Things will begin now, even though the date line is some years later. The date line may lull you and make you non-vigilant. Whatever be the date line, it must begin now in practice. Admissions to schools and colleges, curriculum in schools and colleges, recruitment for public service commissions—for these details are to be worked out and all that will go on from now on. Therefore, the question is of imminent importance."

If they thought that there was nothing to be done immediately and there was no need to act now, then they would lose the battle and they would ultimately be forced to accept what they would not wish to accept.

ENGLISH MUSTN'T DETERIORATE

Rajaji said Dr. Ramaswami Iyer had very rightly made a reference to the importance of English. But what was happening now? English was deteriorating in the colleges. Instead of bemoaning this deterioration, many eminent men were gloating over the deterioration and arguing that was the reason why they should accept Hindi. "We cannot get on with English and your own people are not learning it, English is deteriorating," so they said. Therefore in beginning the battle against Hindi, Rajaji emphasized, they should all make up their minds that their younger men did not allow English to deteriorate. "If you allow English to deteriorate in high schools and colleges," Rajaji said, "we are bound to lose the battle. If for overwhelming reasons, you want English to be the official language of India, then you have to pay attention to that language and not allow it to deteriorate."

It was said Hindi would have to develop hereafter. But what the "Hindi" people argued was that Hindi would not develop unless it was adopted as the official language of the Union. They were taking advantage of the constitutional provision to argue that the first step for the development of Hindi was its adoption as the official language. They were under a delusion and whatever might be the delusion to which their delusion might lead them to, "we must fight that delusion. It is not easy unless we are united. If we go on splitting, we shall fall."

What they wanted was that Hindi should not be introduced and English should not be disturbed. "We will have to unite and united, we will overcome the opposition in this matter. Our only friend, let me tell you, our only ally, the only understanding man in this matter up in the North is the Prime Minister and no one else (cheers). But even so powerful a man has to bend before the delusions of the people around him."

"People up in the North want Hindi and are they men of bad conscience. Do they want to dominate others ?" Rajaji asked and answered, "No, they were patriots. They feel unpatriotic to have a non-Indian language as the language of the Union—not a bad argument. It was a very sound argument, if you do not examine the difficulties and other considerations. Patriotic impulse made them strongly attached to Hindi. While we recognise patriotism, we have a right to ask them to consider other matters. That is what we are trying to do. There are sometimes reasons for not doing the most patriotic thing. If their patriotic impulse did not injure vast masses of people in compact areas all over India and if there was no sense of subordination, then we will have no objection. That is what makes some people in the North recognise the difficulty of introducing Hindi by compulsion. Therefore, they suggested that Sanskrit should be made the official language. That is not a practicable proposition. Even priests who recite mantras in Sanskrit do not understand Sanskrit. It is no use of our putting our official work in that dangerous position. So it is impracticable, even though that would have been patriotic act."

Rajaji did not believe that the attitude of the North in the matter of Hindi was motivated by a desire to dominate. It was not domination that prevailed in them ; it was the patriotic ideal that prevailed. "Therefore we will have to explain our difficulties and place them in a scale-pan as against the patriotism they put in the other pan." After all we have been doing this unpatriotic thing during the past 10 years after attaining independence, even if we do not take into account what happened before independence. We have been able to manage with this unpatriotic medium for ten years. We have managed well not only in India but also abroad. We have managed well with this English language. Even the Constitution confesses the advantages of the English language in the sections dealing with courts, legislative procedure, etc. English will

continue in the High Courts and the Supreme Court even after the 15-year time limit. Why should non-Indian language be utilised for these purposes, where precision and accuracy is wanted. Because facts compel it. Is not precision wanted in administration? The Government of India should see the position in this light.

Mr. Rajagopalachari then contended that only 42 per cent of the people spoke Hindi and even here there were many dialectical differences. Even if they ignored these differences, the 42 per cent Hindi population were concentrated in the Central bloc, the Hindi bloc. The non-Hindi bloc was therefore considerable. They were spread all over India. If at least the Hindi speaking population had been distributed all over India, there might be something in favour of the proposal to have Hindi. That was not so.

CONTRARY PROPOSITIONS

Rajaji said that there were very few things in this world which were wholly good or wholly bad. All things were mixed and " this unfortunate issue also is of that type. There are some things good and some things bad in the Hindi case and in the English case also. It would do no good to mix the two together, and say that we will have both English and Hindi side by side. There is no use of having two contrary propositions to balance one another. In this matter, you have to choose definitely one of the two alternatives and strictly adhere to that alternative. We should firmly adhere to some position. With all my loyalties, I will try to find out the best alternative and I recommend that the *status quo* is the best alternative." It was not a crime since they were already in the Commonwealth and the law of consistency at least should help the Government in the matter. If since the Muslim conquest, Hindi had progressed without compulsion and in peace, things would have been different. But, unfortunately, Hindi had had no opportunity to develop during the past 150 years. It would be suicidal to adopt Hindi as the official language. If the Union Government tried to govern a large country like India with a handicap like Hindi, adopted against their wishes, then their handicaps would become doublefold. If the 42 per cent Hindi speaking people wished to be the dominating group they had better not adopt Hindi, but carry on in English rather than add to their difficulties. The policy of Hindi would work for disintegration and not for unity.

They should have unity of language, if that produced unity of mind.

Line of Least Resistance

Adverting to the recommendation of the Madras Government to have English alongside Hindi, Rajaji said that it was argued that if both languages were there, no harm would come. If the alternative was in the form as suggested by the Madras Government, then it might solve the immediate problem of friction. But it would not solve the problem. There would be considerable difficulty if correspondence was carried on in two languages. But the State Government had followed the line of least resistance of having Hindi and English. No battle would be won by following the line of least resistance. " If we want to win a battle, we should not follow such a policy. I wish to utter on this occasion the warning that it will produce great many difficulties and it is not good to compromise. That is one point that our Government should remember. It may be easy now but it will be difficult later on, as things progress. We have to stand together and fight the battle. Let us leave it to the Union Government to commit that mistake (adoption of Hindi and English) but let us not initiate that mistake. Let the Union Government propose that. That is the line of least resistance and they will follow it in Parliament. "

Mr. Rajagopalachari stressed the need for courage. One of the letters he received asked him to sponsor a strongly-worded resolution but the letter was anonymous. Why should the author of the letter lack courage to sign his name ? They were all obsessed with a sense of fear in all matters. Rajaji could understand if they were afraid of a ghost or of death. But why they should be afraid of expressing an opinion. Obligations to a party or to a friend were irrelevant in this matter.

P. T. Rajan's Speech

Mr. P. T. Rajan, M.L.C., seconding the resolution agreed that unity was necessary. But would Hindi be able to forge unity. They wanted to discard English because that was a language of slavery. But, even after adopting Hindi, they would not be able to dispense with English since they would need it for carrying on the work of the judiciary. They had modelled all their legislative and

administrative institutions on the English pattern. So why should they fight shy of the language alone? If they were sure Hindi would achieve unity, then he would welcome it. But historically, language had never acted as a unifying force. Community of interests and fellow feeling were really the factors which promoted unity. In these circumstances, people in the North should not use their majority in Parliament to impose Hindi on the South. It would be abuse of power and bring chaos and confusion and Indian history would repeat itself.

Mr. Rajan asked the Government of India to follow the advice of Rajaji pointing out that they suffered heavily because they did not heed his advice before Independence. Rajaji's advice was born out of practical wisdom and if it was brushed aside, ruin would befall this country.

Mr. P. Kodanda Rao moved a resolution for communicating the proceedings of the Convention to the President of India, the Prime Minister, the Home Minister and the Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee. He said that they were passing through a real crisis now. According to him, no language was foreign. "Foreign" was a political concept and would never apply to a language. Hindi was no less foreign than English but infinitesimally less useful. They stood to gain if they offered facilities to all sections of people, including labour, to learn English. That was the way to advance in the industrial and scientific field. The Convention's slogan should be "English ever, Hindi never".

Mr. S. R. Venkataraman seconded the resolution.

Mr. S. Chellaswami sponsored the resolution constituting the Committee of Action. Speaking with vehemence, he said that the whole chapter in the Constitution on Hindi should be deleted. He protested against the use of Hindi in money order forms, post cards etc. and said that this was a clear violation of the Constitution.

Mr. R. V. Krishna Ayyar seconded the resolution.

All the resolutions were passed unanimously.

Mr. S. Narayanaswami proposed a vote of thanks.

The Resolution

The following is the main resolution :

Recognising that the paramount need of the hour is to promote the emotional integration and preserve the complete unity of the nation and taking into consideration the feelings and difficulties, present and future, of the non-Hindi-speaking peoples, who form the bulk of the population in all except the Central region of India ; the decidedly disruptive consequences of any change in the *status quo* by the substitution of Hindi for English, on top of the centrifugal forces already generated by the re-organisation of the States on a linguistic basis ; the principle that in no circumstances should the views and feelings of a minority be disregarded, and an over-all majority be allowed to overrule them, on an issue of such importance, thereby negativing the basic principles of true democracy ; the fact that Hindi with its variations is not spoken by more than forty-two per cent of the population of India (*vide* Language Commission Report), and is confined as mother-tongue to the people of Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, and Bihar and commands no usage in the other areas of this vast country ; the further fact that the English language has been in official use for administrative, judicial, and legislative purposes, throughout the country, for over a century, including the last ten years after Independence, and that any disturbance of this existing arrangement will inevitably lead to such a fundamental change in the entire educational field as to result in a marked deterioration in efficiency in all the departments aforesaid ; the intimate connection that exists between University education and the language of the Public Services, as well as between University education and the secondary school courses leading up to it ; the necessity for continuing to use, in the higher grades of academic study, the source books in English, and in particular the growing volume of scientific and technological literature, and the fact that translations of such books and literature, even if made available, cannot serve the purpose ; the circumstance that every regional language is already accepted as the language of administration in the respective States, and the consequential absence of any conflict with the doctrine of unity of language between people and Government in the event of English being continued as the official language of the Union Government ; the overwhelming convenience of English as a medium of inter-State and international intercourse

and the need for reducing to the minimum the language burden in the courses of education which qualify for entry into the public services and remembering that in every State all departments of Government will function in the regional language, into which all Acts and proceedings of the Central Government will have to be translated, it was resolved that English should continue as the official language of the Indian Union; and that the Constitution of India should be amended accordingly.

—*The Indian Express,* Madras, Dec. 23, 1957.

Future of English

Opposition to the adoption of Hindi as India's official language accumulates in the South and found vigorous expression on Sunday at the Union Language Convention of South India which met at Madras. Reverberations come from other quarters, though not all of them are pitched in the same high key. The University Grants Commission, following in the wake of the English committee headed by Pandit Kunzru, advised that the change from English to an Indian language should not be hastened and that even when a change in the medium of instruction is made, English should continue to be studied by all university students. To hasten slowly would appear to be the opinion of a considerable and influential section of people. Mr. Rajagopalachari has added his authoritative voice to the demand and that this view is not confined to South India alone is demonstrated by the support which his plea has received in varying degrees from persons as widely disparate as Mr. K. M. Munshi and Pandit Kunzru. Mr. Rajagopalachari, however, would exorcise Hindi as the official language with bell, book and candle.

On a numerical basis, Hindi admittedly has an overwhelming advantage over English which is confined to a microscopic section of the educated people. Yet, as the Language Convention pointed out at Madras, there are other considerations—not all of them emotional—which must be taken into account. Except for Central India and a few areas to the North, the bulk of India's population consists of non-Hindi-speaking communities. Linguistic rivalries, given a new edge by the re-organisation of States, have strengthened

the centrifugal forces in the country, accelerating and intensifying disruptive trends and tendencies. According to the report of the Language Commission, Hindi is spoken by no more than 42 per cent of the people and is confined, as a mother-tongue, to the population principally of Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. The Language Convention at Madras stresses other considerations. These include the fact that the English language has been in official use for administrative, judicial and legislative purposes throughout the country for over a century, including the last ten years of Independence. Moreover, the intimate connection existing between university education and the language of the public services, as well as between university education and the secondary school course leading up to it, cannot be ignored.

These are considerations worthy of study by all sections of the people whether Hindi-speaking or outside that charmed circle. Linguistic chauvinism can have no place here, for it only tends to blur and contort the picture and makes objective consideration difficult. The practical reasons for allowing English to enjoy the place it has occupied for over a century are impressive, indeed valid. As it is, every regional language has been accepted as the language of administration in the States which constitute the Indian Union. In this circle of concord, Hindi threatens to prove an apple of discord. So long as large sections of the people are opposed to its adoption as a national language, its imposition in the teeth of opposition can only aggravate difficulties and multiply fissiparous tendencies. Might the alternative use of Hindi or English as India's official language not be seriously considered and canvassed? It has support in some high places, and the fact that it constitutes a revolutionary proposal should not automatically rule it out of court in a country and among a people inured to revolutionary ways of life and thought.

—*The Indian Express*, Madras, Dec. 24, 1957.

Association for the Advancement of the National Languages of India

WHAT THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE LANGUAGE COMMISSION AIM AT :

(*i*) that Hindi be recognised as the one and only official language of India, and ultimately the only common language of pan-Indian political, administrative and educational affairs ;

(*ii*) that English, which now serves as an alternative official language of India, be eliminated as early as possible ;

(*iii*) that Hindi be made a compulsory subject of study throughout the Secondary School course in all non-Hindi areas ;

(*iv*) that universities in any State be obliged to grant affiliation to Hindi-medium schools and colleges, and, in the case of teaching universities, make arrangements for imparting instruction in Hindi, whenever there arises a demand for it ;

(*v*) that, after 1965, all-India service examinations be conducted in Hindi and English, with the ultimate objective of making Hindi the only medium ;

(*vi*) that Hindi be accepted as a medium in the Service examinations of all non-Hindi States side by side with the "regional" language of each State ;

(*vii*) that Hindi and Hindi only be used in the Parliament, and for the purpose of legislative enactment both in the Centre and the States ;

(*viii*) that Hindi be ultimately made the only language permissible in the Supreme Court and the language of judicial verdict in the High Courts, and that Hindi be used side by side with the respective "regional" language even in the lower courts throughout the Indian Union ;

(*ix*) that employees in all Central and State Government services be compelled to learn Hindi and failure to do so be penalised ;

(*x*) that the States do take up through a separate Ministry or Department the work of propagating Hindi to non-Hindi peoples, developing Hindi literature, as well as translating into Hindi an enormous mass of legal, administrative and other literature, to fit Hindi for these various purposes ; and

(*xi*) that though non-Hindi speaking peoples (who form the majority of the total Indian population) be obliged to learn Hindi, Hindi-speaking peoples be required to learn, not necessarily another Indian language but, in its stead, a non-Indian language or an additional subject on Humanities.

WHAT THESE RECOMMENDATIONS MEAN IN PRACTICAL TERMS :

(*i*) The population of India will be sharply divided into two groups : a privileged Hindi-speaking minority who will enjoy better opportunities in every field simply through the fact of their being born to the language, and a vast non-Hindi-speaking majority who will find their talents and ambitions thwarted simply through an inadequate knowledge of Hindi.

(*ii*) Highly developed Indian languages of the North and South will become increasingly unnecessary as a means to material advancement, and for that reason receive increasingly less attention in educational institutions and from intellectuals even in those areas where they are naturally spoken.

(*iii*) In areas where Hindi is naturally spoken, education, including as it would a non-Indian language or an additional paper on Humanities, will have a content superior to that in non-Hindi areas where Hindi, an intellectually less serviceable language, will be made compulsory.

(*iv*) The elimination of English in India and the establishment of Hindi in its place will isolate us from world-culture in science, the humanities and technology, and cause regression into orthodoxy, chauvinism and medievalism.

(*v*) The quality of higher education all over India will be sacrificed to the naive notion of one group that India must have an Indian language as a common language.

(*vi*) Peoples in non-Hindi areas will be made to pay for the progressive deterioration of their own native languages and cultures, in the form of maintaining, within their respective States, Departments or Ministries for the upliftment of Hindi to a position of pan-Indian supremacy.

(*vii*) In the same way as India was divided in 1947 through the insistence of one group on founding a State on *one* religion, so will the Indian Union be sub-divided within itself through the imposition of *one* " regional " language on the entire country. Though Hindi is recommended in the name of Indian unity, no other step is more surely calculated to disrupt the same unity.

POINTS FROM DR S. K. CHATTERJI'S DISSENTING NOTE :

(*i*) The recommendations of the Language Commission, if implemented, will bring about the immediate creation of two classes of citizens : " Class I citizens with Hindi as their language, obtaining an immense amount of special privileges by virtue of their language only, and Class II citizens who will be suffering from permanent disabilities by reason also of their language. "

(*ii*) As Hindi has not gained any cultural pre-eminence over the other languages of India, any attempt to push the claim of Hindi too far can indicate only " an incipient ' Hindi imperialism ', which will be all the more anti-national. "

(*iii*) The impatient move " to replace English by Hindi and to give to Hindi a position of privilege in the non-Hindi areas " has resulted in a serious menace to Indian unity, namely, linguistic chauvinism.

(*iv*) Hindi has been proposed as the *official language of India,* but its supporters everywhere go much further

than that and describe it as *the national language of India* and *the language par excellence of India.* Some even have started a slogan : " Hind, Hindu, Hindi, these three are one ".

(*v*) Our Prime Minister has repeatedly expressed the view that *India has not one but fourteen national languages.*

(*vi*) Khariboli Hindi of prose, which has been made to replace Hindustani or Urdu and which, under the generic name of Hindi, features in the Constitution as the *official language* and aspires even to be *the national language of India,* scarcely existed before 1850, while the other modern Indian languages of the North are at least 1000 years old, and those of the South even older.

(*vii*) The number of " Hindi " speakers has been inflated by improperly combining the figures for Rajasthani, Kosali or Awadhi, Bhojpuri and Maithili, some of which are totally distinct languages.

(*viii*) Many so-called Hindi-speaking peoples are " virtually suppressing their home languages, the real mother-tongues " in favour of Khariboli Hindi and they are generally unable to appreciate " the passionate love which speakers of Bengali, Oriya, Assamese, Gujarati and Marathi, and of the great Dravidian languages, feel for their mother-tongues. "

(*ix*) The Government of Madras, in formulating its language policy in education, making English compulsory and leaving Hindi optional, has put it : " *English provides and Hindi cannot provide direct access to modern creative thought.* " This is a self-evident truth which needs no support and cannot be refuted.

(*x*) English has now become almost *the* common language of a world-civilisation, and Indians who want English do so *because* they love their own languages and want their best minds to have full and easy access to world-thought, through the medium of English, so that their own languages and cultures may be enriched further. The desire to retain English arises not out of any per-

versity or a deficient sense of nationhood, but of a very deep humanistic idealism, which sees in English the means to belong to the entire world of Man.

(*xi*) The desire to eliminate English from India arises out of a false sense of national pride amounting to inferiority complex, or out of a deliberate blindness to the fact that India is a multi-lingual country where no one language can claim the willing homage of all and sundry.

SOME RELEVANT FACTS :

(*i*) India had never had *one* national language. In ancient times Sanskrit was the language of a strictly limited elite and only of men among the elite itself. In Mughal times Persian was exclusively the language of the court.

(*ii*) India does not have a natural national language in the sense that English is the national language of the United States. No one Indian language is naturally spoken or understood throughout the whole of the Indian territory.

(*iii*) The claim that Hindi is already the *lingua franca* of India is untenable. Bazaar Hindi, consisting of a few corrupt words and without any grammar or proper syntax, may be current in many parts, but real (Khariboli) Hindi has a strictly limited sphere of currency.

(*iv*) The claim made in the Language Commission's report (Chap. IV, Para 17, p. 49) that the Hindi-speaking population constitutes "42 per cent of the total of all population and 46 per cent of the total population of all persons speaking the languages of the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution", is patently misleading, because in the same Report (Chapter III, para 6, p. 28) the combined figures for Hindi, Hindustani, Urdu and Punjabi are given as 42.01 per cent of the total Indian population.

(*v*) Hindi was selected as the official language of India, not by a Parliament consisting of properly selected representatives of the people, but by the Constituent Assembly, and by a very narrow majority.

(*vi*) Already, in the name of pan-Indian need, one particular "regional" language of India, namely Hindi, is receiving preferential treatment from the Centre, in the form of special patronage to its writers and speakers and employment of high-salaried teachers to teach Hindi to non-Hindi peoples. All this cost is paid out of revenue received from the entire population of India, much to the detriment of even their Primary Education.

(*vii*) One common or national language is not an essential component of nationhood. Switzerland, the world's oldest republic, has three national languages, and Belgium has two.

(*viii*) In the last 200 years English has never competed with any Indian language, but, on the contrary, has contributed greatly and vitally to the development of each one of them.

(*ix*) Not one Indian language, or many of them together, can in the present times serve all the purposes or give the same advantages that English can.

(*x*) If Hindi or English is to be learnt by Indians merely as a "tool" language, English, as a tool, will be incomparably more serviceable and powerful, and also give access to modern world-culture.

(*xi*) In many countries of the West and East, such as France, Germany, Russia, Japan, Egypt and South America, English has now become the second most important language in the educational system or has been so since the early years of the present century.

WHAT WE BELIEVE :

(*i*) Self-determination, self-realisation and self-expression can be achieved through the mother-tongue and the mother-tongue alone.

(*ii*) Since India does not have a natural national language, the artificial elevation of any one Indian language to that position will prove detrimental to all the other lan-

guages (each spoken by millions) and the native culture of each of those language-groups.

(*iii*) The term "regional", as applied to the twelve other living Indian languages listed in our Constitution, with the exception of Hindi, is itself derogatory and unrealistic. In the sense that it is spoken in one particular geographical region, Hindi is as much "regional" as Tamil, Marathi or Bengali, and German, Japanese or Russian is as much "regional" as Bengali, Hindi or Tamil. The persistent use of this incorrect and superfluous epithet is steadily undermining the prestige of all major Indian languages, including Sanskrit, with the exception and all to the favour of Hindi.

(*iv*) There is an important distinction between the *national* and *official* language, the former being natural, spontaneous and pervasive, and the latter a formalised product for occasional and specialised use. India has a real need for an official language, as a means of inter-State governmental communication, but to equate it with "the national language" is a fundamental and dangerous confusion.

(*v*) In keeping with the practice in most civilised countries, a second compulsory language should be taught in Indian secondary schools, and no language can be more advantageous and less expensive for this purpose than English.

(*vi*) It is not possible to visualise a time within the foreseeable or calculable future when India would be able to dispense with the use of a major Western language, as an integral part of higher education, without serious injury to her deepest national interests.

(*vii*) If India has to choose one Western language for general use, the claim of English is too strong to admit of any dispute. Not only is English a world-language with a universal store of translated and original works, but English is already current in India and has recently become more so.

(*viii*) If by Indian languages are meant languages spoken by substantial sections of Indians, then English, which is the natural language of the Anglo-Indian community and a section of Indian Christians, deserves to be recognised as one of the Indian languages.

(*ix*) Language, as embodied in the mother-tongue, is not, as the majority of the members of the Language Commission evidently think, a mere tool or " instrumentality " or means of communication. Language *creates* thought; its roots go deep down into the unconscious life of the people born to it ; it moulds their habits, emotions, feeling, cogitation—everything that constitutes the spiritual aspect of man. To put any one of our Indian languages in a position of supremacy or create conditions leading to the stultification of most or any one of them, is a flat negation of the equality of opportunity granted to all citizens by the Constitution.

(*x*) The preamble to the Constitution of India speaks of " the equality of status and opportunity " for all citizens of India, and more particularly it is laid down in Art. 16, Sec. I of the Chapter on Fundamental Rights that " there shall be equality of opportunity for all citizens in matters relating to employment or appointment to any office under the State. " The adoption of Hindi as the one and only official language for pan-Indian purposes will, by offering special advantages to those who naturally speak Hindi, constitute an infringement of the Fundamental Rights embodied in the Constitution. Any other provision or provisions in the Constitution of India, if found inconsistent with the high aims embodied in the Preamble and the Chapter on Fundamental Rights, ought to be so modified as to subserve those aims.

WHAT WE DEMAND :

(*i*) that each one of the fourteen Indian languages listed in our Constitution be officially recognised as a national language of India, and the term " regional ", as applied

to the twelve living languages except Hindi, be abolished and replaced by the term "national";

(*ii*) that within each State education be conducted at all stages in the respective national language or languages, as far as practicable, and energetic steps be immediately taken toward that end;

(*iii*) that the respective national language or languages be used, as far as practicable, in all administrative, legislative and judicial contexts;

(*iv*) that the State Governments and all educational authorities be left entirely free to determine the place of English and Hindi in the educational curriculum at all stages, unhampered by directives or discriminatory measures from the Centre;

(*v*) that no discrimination be practised by the Central Government in extending facilities to any one particular Indian language in matters of dissemination through translations, publications, broadcasting, journalism and educational measures;

(*vi*) that all-India service examinations be conducted in English and English alone;

(*vii*) that, as soon as and inasmuch as practicable, State service examinations be held in the national language of the particular State and in that language alone;

(*viii*) that multi-lingual States be left free to choose either English or the major languages prevalent in those States as the official language or languages and the medium of instruction, with due safeguard for minority interests; and

(*ix*) that English be retained for pan-Indian legislative and judicial purposes, and that English and, wherever necessary, the language of the State concerned be used for communication between the Centre and the States, without any discriminatory status for any one language; and that Central official announcements and notifications meant for the people as also postal and railway

forms and notifications, etc. be issued in the language of the State concerned and English ;

(*x*) that, as between States, English or any other national language or languages agreed upon by the States concerned, be recognised as the medium of communication.

WHAT WE PLAN TO DO :

(*i*) organise meetings in educational institutions, learned societies, public libraries, cultural clubs, etc., in Calcutta and other parts of West Bengal, with a view to rouse public consciousness with regard to this supremely important Language question ;

(*ii*) publish and circulate pamphlets and booklets, in both Bengali and English, in which the arguments set forth here will be discussed in full detail ;

(*iii*) give all possible help to cultural and professional bodies and students' organisations, such as may want to work independently on similar lines ;

(*iv*) effect co-ordinated action with non-Bengali groups in Calcutta, such as may share the point of view presented here ;

(*v*) spread the movement in other parts of North and South India ; and

(*vi*) organise or assist in whatever other forms of action that may be judged to be effective, until such time as the Language question is solved in a manner consistent with the guarantee of equal opportunity for all citizens, laid down in the Constitution of India.

OUR APPEAL :

We are not a political organisation and it is not easy for us to translate our project into action. We need funds ; we need helpers ; we need and claim the co-operation of whoever loves his language and his culture and is alive to the vital national interests of India. This is your cause. Please help us all you can.

HOW YOU CAN HELP US :

(*i*) By contributing one rupee and becoming members of our Association.

(*ii*) By giving donations.

(*iii*) By discussing this Language question within your own group, circle or professional or educational sphere, and holding group-meeting for this purpose.

(*iv*) By publishing letters and articles in newspapers and magazines.

(*v*) By suggesting means by which the cause may be advanced.

Proceedings of First All Bengal Language Conference

INTRODUCTION

The following resolutions adopted unanimously at a representative Conference of Bengal's literateurs, educationists, jurists, scientists, artists, publicmen, journalists and others represent a consensus of public opinion in West Bengal. The formulation of demands on the Language question was arrived at after a continuous process of discussion ever since September last. It is, therefore, requested that readers will give serious thought to it in coming to their own conclusions.

Two points may, however, be underlined here. English has been characterised in the Resolution No .2 as a major living national language along with others. That it is a major and living language there may be no two opinions about it. It is 'national' in the sense that it is the mother tongue of a substantial number of Indians though they are not living in one compact area. Therefore there should be no qualms of conscience in including English in the list of languages in the Constitution. There are of course other practical and cultural advantages that go with English.

We would also like to draw particular attention to clause (*x*) in Resolution No. 2 which suggests a definite way by which India can adopt another language or languages of Indian origin for pan-

Indian official purposes in the future. Therefore the usual criticism that we want English to dominate over us eternally is not justified.

The legislators and public men belonging to all parties have a great responsibility in coming to a sober decision on this issue. We appeal to them to consider these resolutions dispassionately, as setting an alternative approach to the entire language problem ; for the issue is a very sensitive one involving passions of millions on all sides and once these are aroused, more than the language issue may unfortunately become involved.

We also request intellectuals, educationists and writers belonging to all language groups to discuss these resolutions and articulate their considered opinions so that an intelligent public opinion is formed.

All those agreeing with these resolutions are welcome to become members of the Association by sending Re. One only.

We shall be glad to receive comments from the readers of the resolutions. All communications and contributions may be sent to :

K. K. Sinha, Hony. Joint Secretary and Treasurer, Association for the Advancement of the National Languages of India, 211, *Park Street, Calcutta*-17.

RESOLUTIONS

RESOLUTION NO. I :

Recognising the fact that India is a country of many languages and cultures, this Conference is of the opinion that the unity of the country can only be maintained by a pervading attitude of tolerance and understanding, and of appreciation of this rich variety expressing itself in its fulness. This Conference therefore appeals to the people of India to cultivate that attitude and to test all measures and policies, particularly affecting such sensitive subjects as language, on the basis of this outlook.

This Conference stands for the natural growth of all languages on the foundation of complete equality of status and opportunity and extends its good wishes and co-operation to all the people of India speaking different languages, in furtherance of this cause.

This Conference declares that it has no ill-feeling or sense of antagonism towards either the Hindi language or the Hindi-speaking people. It wholeheartedly accepts all the major living Indian languages as national languages of India, each on an equal footing with the others and would like to see them develop simultaneously without any discrimination against or favour towards any of the languages.

In view of the above considerations, this Conference is firmly of the opinion that no one Indian language should be given a status that will discriminate against other languages.

RESOLUTION NO. II :

This Conference challenges the democratic character of Part XVII of the Constitution entitled "The Official Language of the Union" under which Hindi was accepted as the Official Language of India, in as much as it was passed by the narrowest majority (and even that after an earlier equality of vote on the issue) by the Constituent Asssembly.

This Conference rejects the Recommendations contained in the Majority Report of the Official Language Commission as a basis for the solution of the Language problem of India, as completely unrealistic, harmful to the growth of Indian languages other than Hindi, iniquitous and destructive of the political unity of India.

This Conference, therefore, demands :—

(*i*) that each one of the major Indian languages as well as English be officially recognised as a national language of India ;

(*ii*) that within each State education be conducted at all stages in the principal language of the State with adequate safeguards for linguistic minorities from as early a date as practicable, and that the State Governments and all educational authorities be left entirely free to determine the place of English and any other language in the educational curriculum, unhampered by directives or discriminatory measures from the Centre ;

(*iii*) that within each State the principal language of that State be used in all administrative, legislative and judicial purposes, from as early a date as practicable,

subject to adequate safeguards for linguistic minorities ;

(*iv*) that all-India service examinations be conducted in English and English alone for the present ;

(*v*) that, as between States English or any other language or languages agreed upon by the States concerned, be recognised as the medium of communications ;

(*vi*) that no discrimination (as provided for in Article 351 of the Constitution) be practised by the Central Government in extending facilities to any one particular Indian language in matters of dissemination through translations, publications, broadcasting, journalism and educational measures ;

(*vii*) that, from as early a date and so far as practicable, State service examinations be conducted in the principal language of the State, with adequate safeguard for linguistic minorities ;

(*viii*) that multi-lingual States be left free to choose either the principal languages prevalent in those States or English as the official language or languages and the medium of instruction, with adequate safeguard for linguistic minorities ;

(*ix*) that English be retained for pan-Indian legislative, administrative and judicial purposes for the present and that English and, wherever necessary the language of the State concerned be used for communication between the Centre and the States, without any discriminatory status for any one language ; and that Central official announcements and notifications meant for the people as also postal and railway forms and notifications etc. be issued in the language of the State concerned and English ;

(*x*) that one or more of the principal languages of India may be accorded the position of the official language or languages of the Union Government if the State legislatures unanimously agree to it by a two-thirds majority of each of them, provided that prior to any such change, equality of status of all Indian languages is maintained for a period of not less than

25 years from now and no discrimination is practised in the meantime by the Union Government in favour of any one of the Indian languages ; and

(*xi*) that Part XVII of the Constitution of India be amended in the light of the above resolutions and that any other change or changes in the Constitution that may be deemed necessary to give effect to these resolutions be similarly introduced.

RESOLUTION NO. III :

Having declared its opposition to the Recommendations of the Majority Report of the Official Language Commission ;

And having offered a constructive alternative approach to the problem of the Official Languages in India ;

This Conference appeals to all members of the Parliament and of the Legislative Assembly from West Bengal to take active steps to implement the demands of this Conference.

This Conference urges upon the people of West Bengal to mobilise public opinion in each legislative constituency in favour of this constructive approach to the problem and ask their elected representatives to the Assembly and the Parliament to represent their opinion on this issue without hesitation or equivocation. This Conference feels confident that all citizens of West Bengal, irrespective of partisan loyalty on other issues, will deem it their duty to take up this great work with a sense of urgency and devotion.

This Conference further urges upon the people of West Bengal to create effective sanctions so that the Union Government may not find it possible to resist the just demands of the people.

RESOLUTION NO. IV :

This Conference demands that the West Bengal Government immediately declare Bengali as the Official Language of this State and that effective measures be taken to fully implement this declaration by a date not later than 1961, the Birth Centenary of Rabindranath Tagore.

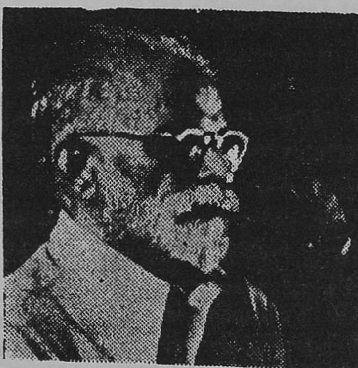
RESOLUTION NO. V :

This Conference demands that the compulsory teaching of Hindi in Secondary Schools of West Bengal be immediately withdrawn.

Obituary

Mr. A. V. Raman

We have to record with deep regret the death on January 29, 1958 of Mr. A. V. Raman, one of the founder Vice-Presidents of the Academy of Tamil Culture. After a long and eventful career as an Engineer culminating in his appointment as Sanitary Engineer to the Government of Madras, he dedicated himself on retirement solely to public activities.



MR. A. V. RAMAN

The cause of Tamil was very dear to his heart and during the last few years of his life, he devoted almost all his time and energy to the promotion of the Tamil language. With practical foresight he realised that, if and when Tamil took its rightful place in Tamilnad as the language of administration, education and modern culture, certain aids would be found essential in the initial stages and with this view, he embarked singlehanded—with little outside assistance, financial or otherwise—on (1) the preparation of a Comprehensive English-Tamil Dictionary in which the entire gamut of the Tamil lexical wealth was to be fully utilised (2) the compilation of Tamil idioms and phrases and (3) the collection of Tamil proverbs from literature and folklore. It was a herculean task and although he did not live to see them through the press, his labours are of great value to the State Government, to the Tamil Universities and to all others interested in ensuring that Tamil acquits itself efficiently in the new roles which she is being called upon to play, *viz.*, the administrative language of the State Government and all local bodies and the medium of instruction

at all levels of education within the State. We trust considerations of prestige will not stand in the way of Mr. Raman's labours being utilised to the full.

In 1954, he wrote a series of articles in the Tamil daily *Dhinamani* criticising in trenchant terms the slipshod way in which words and phrases were coined or borrowed, when elegant and expressive Tamil words were available either in literature or in colloquial speech and making various constructive suggestions for the enrichment of Tamil. In the concluding article, he made the following suggestion :

> *நாம் இப்போது செய்யக் கருதுகின்ற தமிழ்த் தொண்டுகள் இனிதில் நிறைவேற வேண்டுமானால், தமிழ் மொழியின் தந்நிகரில்லாத் தனிச்சிறப்பைப் பிற நாட்டினர் தெரிந்து வணக்கஞ் செய்ய வேண்டுமானால், இன்றே தமிழ் மொழிக் கழகமொன்று ஏற்படல் வேண்டும்.**

Mr. Raman was supremely happy when the suggestion was almost immediately acted upon and the Academy of Tamil Culture established in September 1954.

Unfortunately a heart attack confined him to bed during the past three years and, although he was unable to take active part, his interest in the Academy was unabated and more than one meeting of the Governing Council and of the Editorial Board of *Tamil Culture* were held at his residence to enable him to assist in the deliberations. In fact, his residence in Lloyd Road became a place of pilgrimage for Tamil lovers and others interested in public affairs. His death has created a great void and members of the Academy will miss the infectious zeal and enthusiasm which he evinced in the cause of Tamil.

To his devoted wife and to his gifted son, Mr. V. P. Raman, the Academy conveys its heartfelt sympathy.

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* *'தமிழை வளர்ப்பது எப்படி' ; ஏ. வி. இராமன், சென்னை 1957.*

News and Notes

STATE'S OFFICIAL LANGUAGE

By the Madras Official Language Act, 1956, Tamil has been declared as the official language of the State of Madras, says a Press Note issued today. With a view to facilitating the use of Tamil in official correspondence, the Government have already prepared and supplied to all Government offices a standard glossary of administrative terms. The Government have now decided that as an initial step Tamil should be introduced as the language of correspondence in all offices (other than Courts) for which English typewriters have not been sanctioned.

It is estimated that there are 1,922 such offices in this State. A notification under the Madras Official Language Act, 1956, authorising the use of Tamil as the language for official correspondence in these offices with effect from January 14, is being issued.

—*The Hindu,* January 12, 1958.

FIFTH VOLUME OF TAMIL ENCYCLOPAEDIA RELEASED

Mr. Nehru who released the fifth volume of the Tamil Encyclopaedia at a function got up in Rajaji Hall this evening, felt sure that difficult as the language problem was, they would be able to arrive at an arrangement by which no disability would be created for people of one part of the country in comparison with those in other parts.

The Prime Minister commended the adoption of common expressions for technical and scientific terms so that

people could get into touch with the main currents of science and technology.

The volume released at the function contains 750 pages with about dozen illustrations in tri-colour and single colour. The 17 articles of special interest included in the volume begin from the Tamil letter *chee* to *thi* and deal among other subjects with China, Solar System, telephone, trigonometry, botany, newspaper, mural paintings and Tamil language and literature.

Prime Minister Nehru was presented with a volume by Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar.

The Prime Minister, addressing the gathering, said: "For some time past, periodically, Mr. Avinashilingam Chettiar has presented me with a volume of the Tamil Encyclopaedia. Those previous volumes, I have treasured, although I could not unfortunately read them. Nevertheless, I try to form some idea by looking at the picture. That gives some idea about it and now you have done me a honour by asking me to inaugurate the fifth volume and I am happy to be present here on this occasion. It is really a tremendous, a great and an essential task in a language to have good encyclopaedia. I do not know very well about encyclopaedia of any other language in India. There are some of course. But I personally imagine that the one you are producing is fuller than others in other Indian languages."

—*The Hindu,* January 8, 1958.

CZECH TAMIL SCHOLAR

Dr. Kamil Zvelibil, Czechoslovakian Indologist and Tamil Scholar, who is on a visit to India under the Exchange Programme, arrived in Madras, this afternoon by air from Delhi. He was received at the airport by representatives of Tamil Writers' Association and the Academy of Tamil Culture.

Dr. Zvelibil will spend nearly a year in South India, during which period he will work with the Madras, Annamalai and Kerala Universities, doing research in ancient and modern Tamil. He has already translated some of the Tamil classics and some works of modern Tamil literature.

Answering questions from Pressmen, Dr. Zvelibil said his translations of Tamil Classics into Czechoslovakian language were well received in his country. " I must say, " he added, " that the translations from Tamil were sold out within three or four days." The Czech scholar, who could converse in chaste Tamil, said he was happy to have the opportunity to visit South India, which was his cherished dream, and to know more about the Tamil people, their culture and language.

The Hindu, January 27, 1958.

MINOR POETRY

Inaugurating a conference on Minor Poetry in Tamil, held under the auspices of the South India Saiva-Siddhanta Publishing Society at Rajaji Hall this morning, Rajah Sir M. A. Muthiah Chettiar said that a language required for its growth and enrichment a " missionary zeal ".

Mr. S. Ganapathia Pillai, Judge of the Madras High Court, releasing a publication containing the prepared speeches delivered at the conference, and said in the modern world Tamil could not lead an isolated existence.

Prof. L. P. KR. Ramanathan Chettiar, Professor of Tamil, Annamalai University, who presided over the conference, explained the history of minor poetry in Tamil, called " Sitrilikkiam " and described the peculiar characteristics of the poems.

Rajah Sir Muthiah Chettiar referred to the establishment of the Tamil Isai Sangham and said there was need for such an organisation because some people were opposed

even to the singing of Tamil songs. He was glad that devotional songs, which formed part of Tamil culture, were now being recited in the temples in the State. After paying a tribute to the work done by the Saiva Siddhanta Publishing Society, he said that Tamil scholars and pundits, even after retirement from service, were welcome to join the Annamalai University as they would be of great service in helping research on the various aspects of Tamil language and literature conducted now at the University.

Prof. Ramanathan Chettiar pleaded for greater encouragement to Tamil music in AIR programmes. He said the " Prabandhas ", numbering 96, constituted minor poetry in Tamil literature. These were about 900 years old and truly mirrored the life of the ancient Tamils. Describing some of the types of minor poetry, he said 'Ula' were noted for literary excellence. The poets, who wrote these, showed a keen insight into human nature. " Kalambagam " was a mixed type and " Thoothu " was rich in imagery, he added.

Mr. Ganapathia Pillai felt that in spite of the talk of renaissance in Tamil and of a new awakening among the Tamil-speaking population about the greatness of Tamil, their enthusiasm was still flagging. There was, however, no point in their blaming others for the fall of Tamil into disuse. They could not be purists either, if they wanted to enrich the language. He would, however, ask them to make sure that they did not have in their own language the words they wanted, before copying them from other languages. He knew many important Tamil words had fallen into disuse and therefore were forgotten. After stressing the need for enlightened research in literature and language, he urged that the Tamil writers, scholars and pundits should be kept above want, if they were to play their parts in developing the language. The State Government had now adopted Tamil as the official language, he said and expressed the hope in due course

it would also become the Court language. He exhorted the people to help make the change-over smooth and successful so that Tamil could be restored to its ancient glory.

Ilavazhaganar unveiled a portrait of Mr. K. Subramania Pillai, first Head of the Tamil Department of the Annamalai University. An erudite scholar, Mr. Pillai was a legal expert also, he said. A man of firm principles, he had great faith in constructive work ultimately overcoming all fissiparous and separatist tendencies.

Dr. M. Varadarajanar, Professor of Tamil, Pachaiyappa's College, unveiling a portrait of Marai Malai Adigal, said that the Adigal was the first to champion the cause of Tamil and he spearheaded the movement for developing a pure Tamil.

Earlier, Mr. V. Subbiah Pillai, Secretary of the Society, welcomed the gathering.

The Hindu, January 19, 1958.

Transliteration of Tamil Phonemes* into English

VOWELS

அ	—	a	(as in among)
ஆ	—	a:	(„ calm)
இ	—	i	(„ sit)
ஈ	—	i:	(„ machine)
உ	—	u	(„ full)
ஊ	—	u:	(„ rule)
எ	—	e	(„ fed)
ஏ	—	e:	(„ able)
ஐ	—	ai	(„ aisle)
ஒ	—	o	(„ opinion)
ஓ	—	o:	(„ opium)
ஔ	—	au	(„ now)

CONSONANTS

				Hints re: articulation
Hard[1] (Plosive)	க	—	k	(as in king, angle, alhambra)
	ச	—	c	(„ church, angel, calcium)
	ட	—	t:	(„ card ?)....Retroflex - articulate with blade of tongue.
	த	—	th	(„ threat, this, thick)....dental.
	ப	—	p	(„ pipe, amber)
	ற	—	t	(„ atlas, sunday, arrears)..Retroflex- articulate with tip of tongue.
Soft (Nasal)	ங	—	ng	(„ sing)....velar n
	ஞ	—	nj	(„ angel)....palatal n
	ண	—	n:	(„ urn ?)....Retroflex n - articulate with blade of tongue.
	ந	—	nh	(„ anthem)....dental n
	ம	—	m	(„ mate)
	ன	—	n	(„ enter)....Retroflex n - articulate with tip of tongue.
Medium (non-nasal continuant)	ய	—	y	(„ yard)
	ர	—	r	(„ red)
	ல	—	l	(„ leave)....Alveolar l - articulate with tip of tongue.
	வ	—	v	(„ very)
	ழ	—	l-	(„ ?)....Retroflex l - articulate with blade of tongue.
	ள	—	l:	(„ hurl)....Alveolar l - articulate with blade of tongue.
Auxiliary[2] (ஆய்தம்)	ஃ	—	x	(„ ahead)

* The Tamil phonemes may for practical purposes be treated as having single allophones only, except in the case of the hard consonants which have four allophones each, as shown in note 1 on the reverse.

1. The Phonemes, classified as *hard,* have normally an *unaspirated unvoiced* value but acquire the following modified values if preceded by a consonant:—

   (a) a *slightly aspirated* unvoiced value, if preceded by a *plosive or hard consonant.*

   e.g., பக்கம் – is pronounced pakkham, not pakkam

   (b) an unaspirated but *voiced* value, if preceded by a *nasal or soft consonant*:—

   e.g., பங்கம் – is pronounced pangam, not pankam
   பஞ்சம் – „ panjam, not pancam,

   (c) a *fricative* value if preceded by a *non-nasal continuant or medium consonant or by the auxiliary consonant.*

   e.g., பல்கலை becomes palhalai not palkalai
   எஃகு „ ehhu not exku

NOTE.—In most present day dialects, the plosive assumes a fricative —sometimes a voiced—value after a vowel also, except in the case of t: which retains its normal unaspirated, unvoiced value even after a vowel.

2. The value of this *auxiliary* phoneme, which must *always* be followed by a hard consonant, was variable during the time of Tholkappiam; it acquired a phonetic value identical with that of the following hard consonant, vide 1 (c) above,

   e.g., எஃகு became ehhu

   Later its value became fixed as h, irrespective of the following consonant.

Note. (i) With a view to keep down transliteration to the minimum it is suggested that, in the case of Tamil words which are already in free use in English (e.g., Tamil = Thamil), or where it is unnecessary to indicate the exact pronunciation, accurate transliteration need not be resorted to. In the case of proper names etc., which occur more than once in the same article, the transliteration need be shown only once in brackets side by side with a free English adaptation, the latter alone being used subsequently, except of course in cases where such a procedure will lead to ambiguity,

   e.g., வேங்கடம் = Vengadam (Ve:ngkat:am).

(ii) Reference may be made to *Tamil Culture*, Vol. IV, No. 1 (January 1955 issue) pp. 58-73 for fuller details.

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Lost Lemuria—Fresh Evidence?

P. JOSEPH

Among the Tamils there has been a persistent tradition that their ancestors originally belonged to a continent, large portions of which were swallowed up by the sea. Details are given of all the countries of the lost continent with their names and areas, their mountains and rivers. Mention is also made of the specific regions that disappeared at each stage.

The tradition was committed to writing in detail after the 10th cent. A.D. by commentators on the Tamil classics. The first to record it in detail was Nakkirar in his commentary on Iraiyanar's Ahapporul. Nachchinarkkiniyar and Adiarkkunallar merely followed suit. To deny that in the course of ages the puranic tale gathered accretions would be rash; but to try and pick them out would be equally rash. This is the fate of all ancient lore. Anyway one may reasonably accept the basic fact of a land submerged by the ocean in times gone by, — which is the hard core of the tradition. To it scientists like Haeckel, Topinard and Huxley lent their support and writers like Samuel Laing (*Antiquity of Man*), Holderness (*Peoples and Problems of India*) and Scott-Eliott (*Lost Lemuria*) paid more than passing attention.

Confirmatory evidence pointing to a lost continent seems to arise from an enquiry into the original home of the dark races of the world. William Howells, in his excellent book *Mankind So Far**, does confess that the dark-skinned peoples present a formidable puzzle especially in regard to their place of origin. He has, nevertheless, made

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a bold bid against heavy odds. His study covers not only the Australian and the Negro races but also the Negrito, which is only a specialised descendant of the latter. Incidentally, the dark peoples comprise the main ethnic group, the black, which is only one of the three branches of Homo sapiens, the other two being the white and the yellow.

To start with the present distribution of the dark races, one notices traces of the Australians in Arabia (on the southern shore), India, Indonesia and Melanesia, while in Australia they dwell in the purest state, unmixed with any other element. The Negritoes are found mixed with other elements in India, Indonesia and Melanesia and in an undisturbed state in the Philippines, the Andamans and the Congo basin. While the Negroes live mostly unmixed in the Congo forests, they have fused with other races in almost all the rest of Africa and in Indonesia as well as Melanesia.

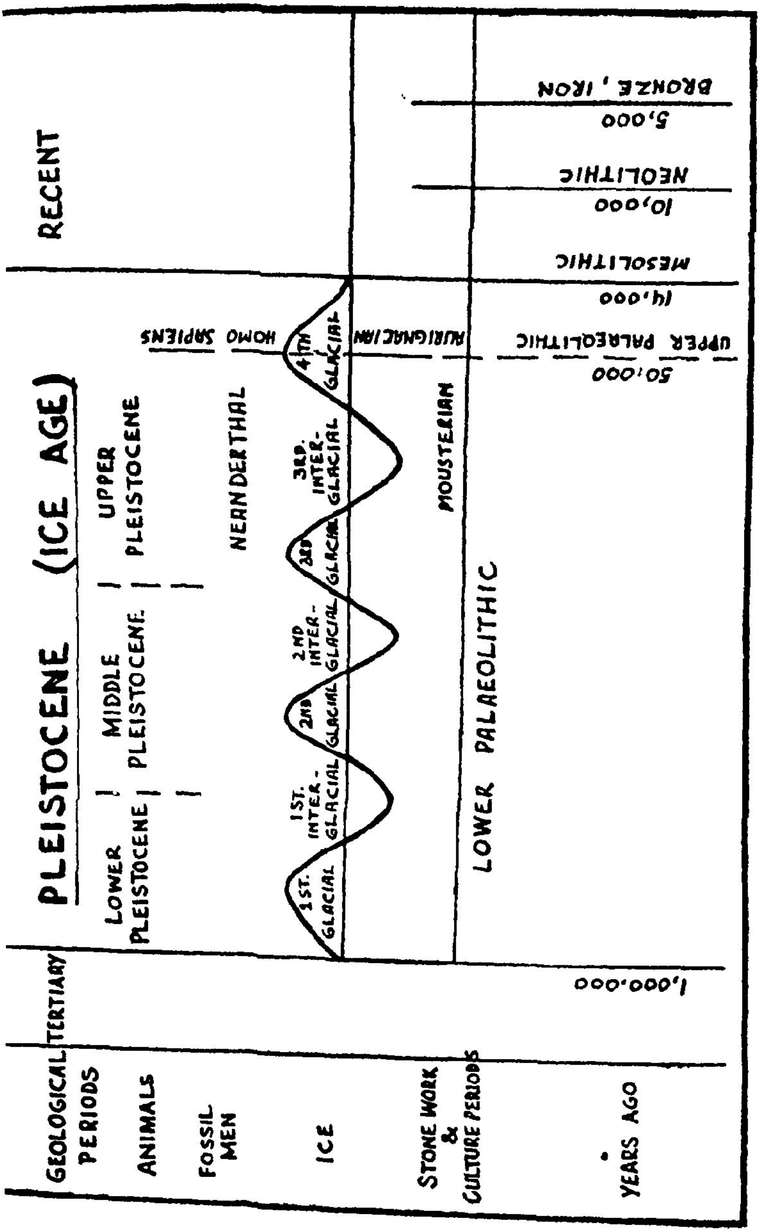
One thing that stands out prominently in the pattern of distribution of these races is that the weaker one, namely, the one in a lower stage of culture has been pushed into the most inhospitable places or refuge areas by the stronger, which in some cases has actually surrounded the weaker. For example, the Negritoes live in New Guinea and the Congo completely hemmed in by the Negroes. The Australians, everywhere except in Australia, have been quite absorbed by the superior elements, for instance, both by the Negrito and the white in India, and by the Negrito, the Negro and the Mongoloid in the eastern islands.

Howells does not consider Australia as the original home of the Australian race. Neither does he think that the Negroes and the Negritoes originally dwelt in Africa. In tracing the original home of these races by working back from the places where they are now found and by studying the pattern of their fusion and distribution in mixed areas, Howells arrives at the conclusion that these races started from India. He quite soundly argues that

the Australians in view of the fact that they live in a most primitive state, in fact in a palaeolithic stage of civilization, should have been the first to move out, as otherwise they would have had to penetrate through a race in a higher stage of development, which they could not have done. By the same criterion the Negritoes should have preceded the Negroes, as the former are only a class of high grade hunters, whereas, the latter boast of a neolithic stage of culture.

Before we come to the time of departure of these races to their destinations, it is necessary to have an idea of the last of the geological ages, namely, the Pleistocene or the Ice age and its correlation with archaeological times. The following diagram should help.

The periods shown in the sketch have been worked out primarily for Europe, but they are applicable to the tropics as well with the proviso that the European glacial periods correspond to those of heavy inundation in the tropics. The Ice Age is really a misleading name. While the glaciers covered almost the whole of Europe, the climate was extremely cold and all living things migrated to the warm lands of the south. But when the ice sheets melted the temperature became extremely warm and flora and fauna typical of the warm belt were seen in northern Europe. Hence the Pleistocene was really an age of extremes of climate, with the extremes getting moderate as time progressed. Thus the last glacial period was not so cold as the previous ones and the last inter-glacial not so warm as its predecessors. As can be seen from the diagram, four times ice covered Europe and the warm periods in between, namely, the inter-glacials were three. At present the earth is passing through a warm stage following the fourth glaciation; whether the modern phase is an inter-glacial, only to be followed by another long cold spell, or we have seen the end of glaciation, none can say.


GEOLOGICAL PERIODS
ANIMALS
FOSSIL MEN
ICE
STONE WORK & CULTURE PERIODS
YEARS AGO
TERTIARY
PLEISTOCENE (ICE AGE)
RECENT
LOWER PLEISTOCENE
MIDDLE PLEISTOCENE
UPPER PLEISTOCENE
NEANDERTHAL
HOMO SAPIENS
1ST. GLACIAL
1ST. INTER-GLACIAL
2ND GLACIAL
2ND INTER-GLACIAL
3RD GLACIAL
3RD. INTER-GLACIAL
4TH GLACIAL
LOWER PALAEOLITHIC
MOUSTERIAN
AURIGNACIAN
UPPER PALAEOLITHIC
MESOLITHIC
NEOLITHIC
BRONZE, IRON
1,000,000
50,000
14,000
10,000
5,000

Now, to follow Howells in fixing the time of the migrations of the dark races, we have already noticed his contention that the Australians were the first to move out of India. They have left some traces of their journey. Eugene Dubois, who threw a bomb-shell into anthropological circles with Pithecanthropus Erectus, popularly known as Java man, had found also two other skulls at Wadjak in Java. They were those of a male and a female and were found in a level equivalent to the upper palaeolithic in Europe. They belonged definitely to the ancestors of the modern Australian. These Australians, hence, must have left the Asiatic mainland at least in the upper palaeolithic period, which corresponds to the final phase of the Pleistocene. Their progress was apparently slow. To reach Australia, their final resting place, they had to cross the sea quite a few times and should have done so in mesolithic times, since man acquired boats as an accessory to his travels only in the middle stone age. The Negritoes should have migrated from the mainland after the Australians in the mesolithic age, as they should have had good boats indeed to cross over to the Andamans and Africa. Finally the Negroes should have followed the others in neolithic times with their garden culture.

Plausible as this story appears, it has its drawbacks and Howells himself was conscious that there was some loop-hole. First of all the Australians have to be given boats to reach their present abode, and it is rather difficult to establish their knowledge of seamanship from the kind of life which they now lead. Secondly, if the theory were true, there should have been some trace of the Negro race in India, but there is none. Howells is hard put to explain this contingency but he rather naively dismisses the whole problem by saying in effect that the Negroes left the shores of India *en masse* and thus vanished completely from the scene. Thirdly, the most serious objection to the theory is that the Negrito arrival in Africa in mesolithic and the Negro arrival in neolithic times run counter to

other evidence. They do not, for example, fit in with the fact that two Negro skulls were discovered in the cave of Grimaldi in the Riviera in upper palaeolithic levels. These skulls obviously belonged to Negroes who crossed over from northern Africa to Europe. Moreover, if the dark races arrived in Africa as late as the time allotted to them, how can the present distribution of races in the continent be explained in relation to what is known regarding the migrations of the white race ? In the third inter-glacial the Neanderthals, a branch of Hominids, with their mousterian lower palaeolithic culture had spread all over Europe and north Africa and the white race of Homo sapiens had actually arrived by the end of the 3rd inter-glacial in Africa and Asia at the outer fringe of the Neanderthal stronghold, ready to go in numbers into Europe and establish there their superior aurignacian upper palaeolithic culture. This white race consisted chiefly of the Cro-Magnon and Combe Capelle peoples, named after the places in France where their remains were discovered. At the same time that the white race marched into Europe it descended from the north and east into Africa. If the dark races came into Africa long after the white race, they should have been responsible for a reversal of the present pattern of distribution of races in the continent. The whites should then have been in the Congo basin and the Negroes and Negritoes should predominate in northern and eastern Africa, whereas actually things are the other way round. The white element occupies northern and eastern Africa largely ; as we proceed towards Central Africa the zone of mixture extends as a belt almost all round the inhospitable equatorial forests, into which the Negroes and the Negritoes have been pushed and where they dwell without any disturbance from the whites.

In the search for an alternative theory we are forced to acknowledge that the dark races, in view of their stages of cultural development and their distribution, could not have originated in either Asia or Africa or Australia as we

know the continents today. If we make them start from the ends of the arc, the Negritoes and Negroes from Africa and the Australians from Australia, we are beset with the same difficulties as Howells encounters. We have to give boats to races who apparently did not know of their existence and we have to upset not only the mode of distribution of the races but also the relative chronology of their migrations.

While discussing the question of the original home of the American Indians, Howells avers that he is not going to fish up the lost continent of Atlantis, having no space for sheer invention. However, in discussing Indonesia he admits that it looks like a bulge of Asia, that the islands enjoy Asiatic flora and fauna, and also that they have somewhat sunk and got partly flooded and finally appear to have broken away from the mainland in late Pleistocene times. This shrewd guess regarding the extension of the Asiatic mainland in times gone by could lead to a suitable theory for the original home of the dark races. An admitted geological fact is the uplift of the Himalayas in late Tertiary, a fact which Howells and a good many other anthropologists use for fixing approximately the *point de la depart* from ape to man. This geological upset, which pushed up the world's loftiest mountain range to a height of over 29,000 ft. could hardly have happened without causing any comparable disturbance elsewhere. Perhaps, the very nature of the age that followed, namely, the Ice age, with its vast changes of temperature in the north and its huge periodical inundations in the tropics, was a direct consequence of the Himalayan uplift. In the Tertiary a land mass could have connected Asia, Africa and Australia. It would have sunk as the Himalayas shot up, and would have got submerged by the sea as the inundations poured unceasingly and as the sea-level rose. Apparently then the islands of the Indian ocean and of Oceania came into existence, and the shores of Africa, Asia and Australia came to take more or less the shape they have at present.

The Indian Ocean is admittedly young in relation to the Atlantic and the Pacific and not so deep as the other two. The land bridge, therefore, that once joined the three continents involved must have ceased to exist in Pleistocene times. Of course, the process of sinking of land and invasion by sea was gradual, though not quite continuous, for the deluges occurred with three interruptions.

There is another angle to the problem. Were the waters now locked up in the polar and the mountain glaciers to be released, the sea, geologists estimate, would rise by about 200 ft. During the Pleistocene, at the height of the last glaciation, i.e. the fourth glacial, the sea-level, as compared with the present day, was approximately 300 ft. lower. It must have been far lower still in the first glacial, since glaciation was severer as we go backwards. A very much larger land mass, therefore, must have been visible at the beginning of the Ice Age than subsequently. As glaciation became less intense with the progress of time, more and more land was getting submerged. This process was inherent in the very pattern of Pleistocene glaciation and, hence, went on quite independent of, though vastly aided by, the Himalayan uplift as well as the tropical inundations.

If the dark races lived in the land that was sinking, they would have gone forward to places where they now are; and obviously they went by land. No doubt the Australians, being the most primitive, would have left first. It can even be conceded that while these changes were taking place the Australians were already to a large extent in the places in which they are now found. They would have been followed by the Negritoes and finally the Negroes. On this hypothesis the existence of the Negritoes in the Andamans, completely isolated, is easily understood. Here apparently was a batch that was caught napping while the sea was closing in on them all round. The total isolation of the Andaman Negritoes

right in the middle of the ocean actually gives added point to the plausibility of the theory of a lost land area. Moreover, with the suggestion put forward here to postulate that the Negroes did not proceed towards India but only to Africa and Melanesia involves no difficulty.

As regards the timing of the appearance of the dark races in Africa, they would have been there before the end of the third inter-glacial well ahead of the arrival of the whites in northern and eastern Africa. The Negritoes should have preceded the Negroes who must have been in a higher stage of cultural development to have been able to surround the former. The whites having been in a yet higher stage of culture pushed the Negroes and the Negritoes into Central Africa, thus causing the present pattern of racial distribution. At that time the Negroes could not have attained a neolithic stage of culture ; that apparently developed *in situ* much later.

Incidentally, there has obviously been a confusion between the tradition of Lost Lemuria and the one regarding the Tamil Sangams or Academic periods which were marked by lands being swallowed up by the sea. The Sangam tradition too was put down in writing after the 10th cen. A.D. by the commentators on the old classics. The events covered by the two traditions can have no possible connection in point of time. While the continent south of India was lost in palaeolithic times, the washing away of the sangams by the sea must have been comparatively recent. Palaeolithic man's culture was hardly more than rudimentary. He lived in caves and gathered food. His mind was immature and language elementary. None can seriously maintain that man was advanced enough then to produce works of such literary excellence as would pass scrutiny by a board of censors. Cultivation of literature and allied arts and crafts postulates the existence of special social classes that did not directly produce food and that, therefore, could be maintained by

the community only when the economy had so advanced as to bear the burden. That stage is noticed among ancient peoples only when they had started living in cities during the bronze age. It is then that we find written records. Some writers even today affirm that the first Tamil Sangam at least was washed away during the Ice Age. The cause of Tamil is not served by making claims that are palpably unsound. The greatness and antiquity of Tamil literature can be fully assured without pushing it down to such dizzy depths as the Pleistocene.

The trouble with the hypothesis of a lost land is that it side-tracks the issue; instead of explaining things it postpones the explanation until such time as it can be tested by the necessary scientific data. It, nevertheless, opens the way to look at the dispersion of early man in a new light and is calculated to stimulate interest in the study of Geology, Palaeontology, Oceanography, Marine Archaeology and allied sciences, specially as applied to Africa, Asia and Australia and the ocean in between, — branches of study all too meagrely indulged in so far. Meanwhile a probe into the folk-lore of the Negroes, the Negritoes and the Australians might yield results about an old abode from which their forebears fled before an on-rushing sea. Such a finding would admirably confirm the basic element of the Tamil puranic tradition. In any case the kind of indirect evidence on Lost Lemuria, thrown up by an enquiry starting from the present pattern of distribution of the dark races, should by no means be unwelcome.

The Need for Linguistics

V. I. SUBRAMONIAM

Linguistics is not altogether a new science to Indians. It is simply a modern grammar, founded on certain objective principles. Linguists of the Western world consider an Indian, Panini, as their fore-runner. They owe Panini the concept of zero in linguistic analysis and the algebraic brevity which characterize their linguistic descriptions. Linguistics unlike old grammars is not intuitive. The grammarian of olden days did not explain how he arrived at the various sets of rules. It may have been by trial and error. But in all these years we have faithfully followed his prescriptions not knowing how he has prescribed them. For the first time in the history of grammar, linguistics demonstrates clearly the objective method of evolving a grammar. In this method, the linguist does not imitate or project one grammatical system on another language, but arrive at a grammar according to the nature of the language.

In the U.S.A. this science has acquired an unprecedented importance in recent years. The Government, particularly the Defence Department of that country, encourages linguistic studies for two reasons. They feel that the army personnel should know foreign languages for effective contacts with foreigners. The teaching programmes designed by linguists being easy, they are immensely popular with soldiers. The second reason is that linguistic principles help the secret service men to break the secret codes which are important for military purposes. Another institution which helps in the growth of linguistic studies is the Church. Still there are quite a number of tribal languages in distant jungles of Africa and South

America or Australia, unknown to scholars. Evangelists in America have a strange attraction towards these people, and most of them go there after a sound training in linguistics. Invariably a tape recorder operated on battery would also accompany them. They establish contacts with the natives and lure them through a contact man to speak into the microphone. Slowly and steadily these missionaries pile up words of the strange language and evolve a grammar. They devise a script also if that language did not have one before. The very first thing they do after this is to bring the word of God to the people by translating the Bible. The third institution which promotes linguistic studies in U.S.A. is the University. It feels that the old type English grammars in use in schools are a result of the projection of Greek and Latin grammars. They are not based on actual facts found in the English language. Teachers attribute the unnaturalness of the grammatical categories and irregularities in the English grammars to their imitation of Greek grammatical models.

It is also said that an equal importance is given to linguistic studies in Russia as in the U.S.A.

Linguistics though greatly developed in the 20th century, has roots in the 18th and 19th centuries. It has grown out of comparative and historical studies of languages. The chief contributors to its theoretical development are mostly from America, Switzerland, Denmark, Czechoslovakia and Russia. It has developed a rigorous method for describing languages useful for further linguistic research and technological advancement.

What then is its descriptive method ? A linguist to start with, undergoes training in certain basic courses. He is taught the different set up of languages, their sounds and their morphemes, their words and their grammatical categories. He may not know these languages in the sense we now use that term i.e. to read and write but he will

know their structures. To become a linguist it is not necessary to know many languages. Once it was so believed but not now. One fundamental idea which is drilled into a linguist is that the structure of each language differs from the other and the grammar of one cannot be extended blindly to another. He will have none of the common phobia that a language other than his cannot be comprehended. The Swahili language of distant Africa or the Maori language of New Zealand tribes form as much an important subject for his study as English or Sanskrit. To him no language is superior to the other and no dialect inferior to the other. Sometimes an unimportant dialect spoken by a few on the fringes of a language-area may throw light on a linguistic riddle presented by a fully developed language.

His main concern is the spoken language at a particular time level. Even in his analysis of written language he adopts the same technique on the assumption that it was also once spoken.

The linguist with his training and background goes to a language community, usually speaking a strange language and selects a man of clear speech as a sample for his study. He speaks through a contact man in the initial stages and records the basic words like face, nose, hands etc. of the new language. Usually he carries with him a tape recorder to record at once the words with their meaning. From the tape he transcribes those words in a special script called phonetic script. This is a special kind of script devised by the International Phonetic Association for recording speech forms as accurately as possible. The recorder provides him with certain advantages for transcription. He can play and replay the tapes to verify his transcription without recourse to the human speaker. The human speaker might hesitate and sometimes even refuse to repeat the same word several times. The repeated forms of the human speaker, may sometimes vary and

thus cause embarrassment to the investigator. If the nature of the place is such that a tape recorder could not be carried then the linguist takes down the words *in situ* in phonetic scripts. Thus he gathers a fairly large number of words and sentences and arranges them in the necessary order for further analysis.

Not all sounds recorded in the phonetic script are meaningful in that language. There may be sounds which are produced by the speaker due to physical indisposition. There may be sounds which can be displaced by another word pavaḷam — coral which can be pronounced as pavaḷam. Still there are sounds which occur only in certain positions. To illustrate this the famous English phonetician, Daniel Jones refers to the Tamil sound k. Pronounce clearly and naturally the following Tamil words and see how the k sounds in *kaarru* — wind, *nakam* — nail, *tanku* — to stay, *paakam* — division, *aruki* — rare. If you hear minutely the sound of k when you pronounce the five words given, k^1 is without voice i.e. there is no humming noise when you pronounce with your ears closed. In *nakam* for k^2 the air stream does not stop but comes out with a friction noise and it is voiceless. In *tanku* — to stay, k^3 is voiced and the breath stops. In *paakam* — division k^4 has friction with voicing. In *aruki* — rare, k^5 is also a fricative but distinctly fronter than k^2 and voiceless. All these five sounds are actually altered forms of one sound. Note their positions of occurrence and environments. Each one is different from the other and no two sound segments occur in the same environment. k^3 occurs after the nasal in the medial position. k^2 occurs after monosyllables containing short vowels and k^4 occurs after monosyllables containing long vowels. k^5 occurs before the front vowel " i " and k^1 in other places not specified above. All these sounds can be written by one symbol for they are actually one sound in different manifestations. That sound is called phoneme and its manifestations are called allophones or related sounds. No

alphabet is and can be phonetic. If it is so then it will be quite unmanageable for human beings as a writing system. If you were to provide a letter each for every sound we utter, the letters of our alphabet would be innumerable. It is not a defect if an alphabet is not phonetic. But it would be a serious defect if an alphabet were not phonemic i.e. if it did not represent all meaningful sounds of a language. When a linguist says " meaningful sounds " he includes also the pitch level of the sentence, the stress etc. Here is an English sentence, " He is a boy. " If it were a statement, the pitch level would be uniform until the last word and then drop below. The same sentence could be converted into a question if the falling pitch were raised in the final word. If you listened to a Chinese you will observe he speaks his language in a sing-song fashion. It is called tone. In their language it has meaning. The pitch, stress and tone which play a significant part in languages were not taken seriously by old grammarians : but linguistics does.

After discovering the phonemes of a language the linguist proceeds to the next level of analysis called morphology. In this he tries to find out the sequence of phonemes which are meaningful in that language. The method he adopts is similar in nature to the previous analysis. He usually arranges the words having similar shape and meaning into paradigms like walks, walked, will walk, walking (participle), walking (gerund). In this paradigm a part of each word has similar shape and similar meaning. It is the portion up to k — to step slowly. But, walks — step with reference to present time, is different from walked — step with reference to past time by its indication of past and present time. When you subtract that which is similar in form and meaning in the two words, -s and -ed remain denoting present and past time respectively. In other words, the linguist looks for the same item having identical meaning in the group of words and cuts them. Thus he gathers all meaningful items of a language.

Applying the same principle he followed in grouping sounds into phonemes, he groups these word-bits into item or morpheme and related items or allomorphs. In morphology the linguist limits himself to the analysis of words. He talks about bits of words and their relation. But in syntax which is the next level of analysis he deals with the inter-relations of words. In syntax the Americans have not advanced very much. There is a school of thought in that country which does not differentiate between morphology and syntax. The early Tamil grammarian Tolkaappiar too, seems to have had such a view.

This completes the grammar of the language. A necessary concomitant to linguistic analysis is a lexicon. Usually it takes two years for a linguist to produce a good grammar.

The science of linguistics is not limited to describing languages only. It includes other studies. Description is only one part of linguistics. Other branches are study of the language of children, aphasics and analysis of the language which is in contact with another. The development of the language of children throws light on the development of phonemes and morphemes of the language. The study of the language of aphasics enlightens the nature of language in its dissolution. It is said in aphasics the manner of language dissolution is just the reverse of the language acquisition in children. The last branch of linguistic study is about the change a language undergoes when it comes into contact with another language. Malayalam spoken in Kasarkode is different from Malayalam spoken in Trivandrum. It is mostly because of its contact with Konkani and Tulu and probably also with Kanarese. Changes in the history of languages, to a great extent, are due to the influence of other languages through direct or indirect contact.

These four branches constitute linguistics and it is unnecessary to say here that a wide range of knowledge,

training in allied disciplines and a particular kind of personal capability are essential for a linguist. This is also an expensive branch of study. One may legitimately ask here whether such a study is worth its expense. Indeed it is. Its varied uses will justify the need for recognizing and encouraging this study.

A general knowledge of linguistics will create an atmosphere of language tolerance in our country. A professional linguist or a dilettante cannot have any linguistic narrowness just as a medical doctor cannot distinguish between his patients say, on the basis of caste. We have to-day developed a secret pride for our language. It is good if it does not lead us to look down on other languages. But in actuality it does. Linguists treat all languages as media of communication and their preference for a language is only on the basis of its effectiveness in communication at maximum efficiency and minimum cost of labour or money.

Some of the prevalent conceptions about language such as the concept of purity of language will vanish by the spread of linguistic knowledge. No linguist will think that languages can exist without borrowing. It is the inherent nature of languages to borrow and there is no language known to man which has not borrowed.

Translation of official papers and scientific treatises has become a necessity in India. Human translations are slow and cost heavily. Machine translations attempted in the western countries have as their basis an accurate and thorough description of the language to be translated and the language into which it is translated.

With the aid of the sound changes that occur in the basic vocabulary like 'face' 'nose' and 'hand' in related languages, a linguist in America has devised a method of determining the age of languages. This method commonly known as Lexico-statistics is now being tested widely in

that country. It can throw some light on the history of our languages.

Language is a reliable marker of culture. The race migrations on the basis of language evidence have been traced fairly successfully by American linguists particularly, in the countries speaking the Malayo-polynesian languages. This procedure may serve some useful purpose in ethnological and historical research in our country.

To enhance the effectiveness of communication linguistic knowledge is extensively made use of in the western countries. It is said that the Voice of America in the Czech language is very popular because even in minute details it is very near to the standard speech of Czechoslovakia. Our radio organisation can take this hint and make their relays more effective at home and abroad.

In coded communication the code consisting of symbols play a large part in the effective transmission of the message. The organization of these codes are largely based on linguistic principles. To break these codes also linguistic knowledge is necessary.

The success in the treatment of stuttering, loss of word power and difficulty of speech depends to a great measure on how the individuals react to their respective languages. Knowledge of linguistics is as essential for the physician who treats these diseases as his training in medicine.

Among the various uses of linguistics, its utility in language teaching stands foremost. The teaching methods devised by linguists have been tested in other countries and found efficient.

By this method, the teaching of any foreign language is organized in the following way. Let us take the teaching of Russian. A good linguist, making use of his own or others' analysis will explain to the class phonemes, morphemes and word order of the Russian languages. In some

cases this linguist may not know to converse fluently in that language. This does not affect the efficiency of his teaching provided he knows the nature of the language well. This class of his is supplemented by a class for drill in which a native Russian will be asked to give words and sentences from his language which will be imitated and memorized by the students. This drill class generally will be for six hours per week and the linguist teacher will guide it. It is called the mim-mem method. A student spending three to four hours in daily lessons could speak Russian as naturally as the native Russian and write fluently within the short period of nine months. Is it not well worth considering for our schools and colleges where we currently face an acute problem of teaching English and Hindi ?

This method can be extended even for the teaching of the mother tongue where the dialect differences are pronounced. The Malayalam taught in schools at Trivandrum is very near to the dialect spoken by the members of the Nayar community. A student of the Pulaya community having a distinct dialect of Malayalam would carry over his dialect habits when he speaks his school dialect. If the teacher is a linguist he can easily help the student to divest him from his native speech habits. This is possible by undertaking an analysis of the speech of the Pulaya and finding out the difference in the phonemic and morphemic set-up in that dialect. The differing elements would indicate the spot where the young Pulaya student may experience difficulty in adjustment. The teacher can explain to the student the causes of his difficulties and the method of correction. Linguistics thus holds a great promise for teaching.

In a country where there are 14 major languages and over 450 dialects, with a constitution assuring protection and preservation of all languages and cultures, is not the popularization of linguistics a matter of necessity ?

The Suffix ‘Cin’ (சின்) in Cankam Tamil

A. SATHASIVAM.

To a student of Tamil Philology the study of the verbal forms in Caṅkam Tamil and the changes which have occurred in the subsequent periods is very fascinating. The inflexional forms in which verbs occur in modern Tamil are very different from the forms in which these verbs functioned in the earlier periods. The modern verbs indicate time with the help of certain particles which are easily separated from the root and of other particles functioning as expletives, i.e., those which denote gender, etc. But it is not so easy to separate such functional particles in the verbs as employed during the Caṅkam period. The past adverbial participial forms of today were the finite forms in those early days. This can be proved by analysing some of the verbal forms used at that time. In this brief article, I propose to take the form which ended in ciṉ (சின்) and indicate in what manner the finite verbs functioned in Caṅkam Tamil.

When we analyse the various verbal forms of that period and classify them, we find that all the verbs may be classified under two heads: Those roots forming the past adverbial participle in -u such as √ vā > vantu (வந்து) √ cey > ceytu (செய்து) may be said to belong to the First conjugation. Those roots forming the past adverbial participle in -i- such as √ āṭ > āṭi (ஆடி) √ kūv > kūvi (கூவி) may be said to belong to the Second conjugation.

But some of the verbs in the Caṅkam works had also the inflexional terminations similar to the expletives which

are used in modern Tamil verbs. The verbs ending in –ciṉ may be cited as example of the verbs which took particles at the end. The Tamil grammarians did not include –ciṉ in the list of the personal terminations. The author of *Tolkāppiyam* includes it in the list of the expletives of the second person :

> மியா இக மோ மதி இகும் சின் என்னும்
> ஆவயின் ஆறும் முன்னிலை அசைச்சொல்.
>
> (*Tol. Col.* Cū. 276).

But in the following *cūttiram,* he states that –ciṉ may also be used with the first and the third persons.

> அவற்றுள்,
> இகுமும் சின்னும் ஏனை இடத்தொடும்
> தகுநிலையுடைய என்மனார் புலவர்.
>
> (*Tol. Col.* Cū. 277).

It should be noted that the author of *Nannūl* includes –ciṉ in the list of the expletives of all the three persons (Cūttiram 373).

To examine the functions of –ciṉ in the verbs of Caṅkam Tamil, it will not be out of place to examine the –miṉ termination which often appears as the termination of the second person imperative plural verbs. The close affinity between the expletive –ciṉ and the termination –miṉ may be noted. Puṇarmiṉ (Narr. 224) is an example of verbs ending in –miṉ. This form may be split into 'puṇarm' and 'iṉ', i.e., puṇarum > puṇarm + iṉ on the analogy of puṇarumār (Narr. 304) > puṇarmār (Pari. 11-67). In this case the Mas-Fem. termination –ār is suffixed to the Old Tamil verb ending in '–um'.

puṇarum + ār = puṇarumār

Similarly the second person termination –iṉ is suffixed to the Old Tamil verb ending in –um.

Ex. : ēṟṟum + iṉ = ēṟṟumiṉ (Patir. 2-8).
utavum + iṉ = utavumiṉ (*Patir* 2-8).

Thus when we analyse the –mār and –miṉ ending forms, it is clear that –ār and –iṉ are the personal terminations of the Third person Mas-Fem. plural and the Second person plural respectively. The initial –m of *–mār* and *–min* is not part of the personal terminations but the final letter of the Old Tamil verbal termination *–um*.

From what we have pointed out in the previous paragraph, it is clear that *–in* is a personal termination of the Second person. Now let us compare the following two words ending in –iṉ

Ex. : 1. utavumiṉ (*Patiṛ.*; 2-8).

Ex. : 2. vanticiṉ (*Aimk.*; 175).

In Ex. 1, iṉ is part of the termination –miṉ

In Ex. 2, iṉ is part of the expletive –ciṉ.

According to Tolkappiyar both the termination –miṉ and the expletive –ciṉ refer to the second person. Since –miṉ could be split into ' (u)m ' and ' iṉ ' it is likely that –ciṉ also consists of two parts : –c and –iṉ. We know that –iṉ is the termination denoting the Second person. If that is so, then the letter –c which forms the initial element of the form –ciṉ must have been a separate particle which might have been a part of another particle which had come in between the base and the termination –iṉ.

It is interesting to note that the commentators of the Caṅkam texts and of *Tolkāppiyam* refer to two forms –ciṉ and –iciṉ while the grammarians, both Tolkappiyar and Pavaṇanti refer to only one form –ciṉ. Naccinarkkiniyar commenting on cūttiram 297 of *Tolkāppiyam* says : " என முற்றுச்சொல் சின் அசைக்கண் படுதலும் கொள்க." While commenting on the very next cūttiram (298) he says : " *காதனம்மா நீ மற்றிசினே என இசினும்* " Thus

Naccinarkkiniyar refers to both –ciṉ and –iciṉ. Mr. Auvai Duraiswamippillai commenting on the form 'peṟṟiciṉ' (Puram 11) says that '–iciṉ is an expletive of the second person. Here it is used in the Third person'.[1] The late Dr. Saminathaiyar observes: "*iciṉ is generally used with* the verbs of the first person in such forms as vaṟipaṭal cūṟnticiṉ (K.T. 11) and –ciṉ is generally used with the verbs of the second persons in such forms as 'uraitticiṉ' (K.T. 63).[2] It is obvious that Dr. Saminathaiyar also admits two forms –ciṉ and –iciṉ. Now one may ask where did this "i" of –iciṉ come from? A study of the –ciṉ (or iciṉ) forms occurring in the Caṅkam texts may prove an answer to this question.

There occur altogether sixty-three verbal forms with the suffix –ciṉ, in 130 places in the Caṅkam Texts: The following are the texts in which these forms occur: Akanāṉūṟu, Kuṟuntokai, Aimkuṟunūṟu, Kuṟiñcippāṭṭu, Maturai-k-kāñci, Naṟṟiṇai, Patiṟṟuppattu, Paripāṭal, Perumpāṇāṟṟuppaṭai and Puṟanāṉūṟu. Of the 63 verbal forms with the suffix –ciṉ, 46 forms denote the past tense: 9 are in the imperative; 6 forms are used both in the indicative past and the imperative; one form is a negative verb and in the remaining one form –cin is suffixed to another expletive –maṟṟu. An interesting feature of these forms with the suffix –ciṉ is that not all of them are used as finites; some are nominals. The finites mainly refer to the first person singular indicative past and the second person singular imperative. A few forms refer to the third person singular, i.e., masculine, feminine and neuter singular past. Thus it is evident that those verbs with suffix –ciṉ occurring in the first and the third persons singular indicative refer to the past tense only, whether in the indicative or the imperative, the –ciṉ finites do not occur in the plural.

1 Purananuru, Vol. I, p. 34, Madras, 1952.

2 Kuruntokai — nularaycci, p. 102, Madras, 1937.

The structure of the nominal forms is important. –ci<u>n</u> appears in the past nominal forms both in the singular and the plural of the third person. In such nominals –ci<u>n</u> is suffixed to the verbal form together with the personal terminations *–ōn*, *ōḷ* and *ōr*.

Ex : ō<u>n</u> : pukaṟnticiṉōṉ (புகழ்ந்திசினோன்) (Akam 210)
ōl : pirinticiṉōḷ (பிரிந்திசினோள்) (K.T. 336)
ōr : kaṇṭiciṉōr (கண்டிசினோர்) (Aimk 85)

In these forms, it is likely, the expletive –ci<u>n</u> and the personal terminations (ō<u>n</u>, ōḷ or ōr) are later additions. If it were so, then it follows that *pukarntu, pirinṭu* and *kaṇṭu* respectively, are the original past finites. Compare the following past finites : aṟinticiṉ (*K.T.* 247) ; vanticiṉ (Puram 125). The fact that the author of *Tolkāppiyam* mentions –ci<u>n</u> as an expletive, is itself enough to prove that 'aṟintu' (ci<u>n</u>) and vantu (ci<u>n</u>) are the past finite verbs of the Old Tamil. Naccinarkkiniyar commenting on Cū. 297 of *Tolkāppiyam* says :

'தண்ணென்றிசினே பெருந்துறைப் புனலே'
'விசும்பிழி தோகைச் சீர்போன் றிசினே' என்பன
தண்ணென்றது, போன்றது, என
முற்றுச்சொல் 'சின்' அசைக்கண் படுதலும் கொள்க.

Here Naccinarkkiniyar evidently splits e<u>nr</u>ici<u>n</u> and pō<u>nr</u>ici<u>n</u> into 'e<u>nr</u>u' and 'ci<u>n</u>', 'pō<u>nr</u>u' and 'ci<u>n</u>' respectively. He interprets the participle 'e<u>nr</u>u' as finite 'e<u>nr</u>atu' and the participle 'pō<u>nr</u>u' as finite 'pō<u>nr</u>atu'. Again there is ample evidence in the Caṅkam texts to show that the modern participial forms were then used with finite meaning :

Ex : Vayalai – c – ceṅkoṭi – p – piṇaiyal taii – c –
Cev – viral civanta cēyari maṟai – k – kaṇ
Cev – vāy – k – kuṟumakaḷ iṉaiya
Ev – vāy mu<u>n</u> ni<u>nr</u>u makiṟna ni<u>n</u> tērē
(Aimkuṟunūṟu 52)

வயலைச் சொங்கொடிப் பிணையல் தைஇ
செவ்விரல் சிவந்த சேயரி மழைக்கண்
செவ் வாய் க் குறுமகள் இனைய
எவ் வாய் முன்னின்று மகிழ்ந நின் தேரே.

In this verse 'nin̲r̲u' (having stood) is used to mean 'nin̲r̲atu' (it stood). Thus the forms used in the Caṅkam Texts as past finite do not create any difficulty in analysing their structure. The only peculiarity as regards the "u" ending past finite verb is that the final "u" is elided when –cin̲ is suffixed and its place is taken by –i.

Ex : vantu+cin̲ = vant(u)–i–cin̲

It should be noted that '*vantu*' like ninru as in the above poem, could function as finite without the addition of the –cin̲ suffix. This expletive –cin̲ is suffixed to the past finite for phonological reasons and it has no morphological value as such.

The structure of the forms used as imperative is important for these forms exhibit the character of the Old Tamil verb more clearly. As stated earlier, the same form with the suffix –cin̲ may be used in the past tense or as imperative. The following six forms are used in the Caṅkam texts either as indicative past finites or imperative second singular : Kaṇṭicin, en̲r̲icin̲, kēṭṭicin̲, cūṟnticin̲, ān̲r̲icin̲, vanticin̲.

Niṟ kāṇku vanticin̲ (Puram 125) means, "I came to see you". Here vanticin̲ (I came) refers to first person singular past finite. The same form is used as imperative in 'men̲ mela–v–iyali vanticin̲ vāṟiyō maṭantai (Aimk 175)

(மென் மெல வியலி வந்திசின் வாழியோ மடந்தை)

meaning : "My love of gentle gaịt ! Do come !". Here vanticin̲ (Do come !) is in the imperative second singular. When vanticin̲ is used as imperative, it should be split into 'vanti' and 'cin̲', cin̲ being an expletive and 'vanti' a

second singular imperative verb. Forms ending in –i– are extensively used in the Caṅkam texts as second singular imperatives. Ex.: eṉṟi (Puram 300); uṇṭi (Kali., 85). This imperative form 'vanti' should be split into 'vantu' and 'i'. Here the second singular termination –i– is suffixed to 'vantu' a past *finite* verb. In the Caṅkam age imperative verbs were *formed by adding the imperative* terminations to the past finites. But the forms used as past finites, originally did not possess any tense sign in them. The particle –t– denotes the past tense by accident. It may also be noted that in such present-future finites such as aṟiti (Puram 10: Naṟṟ. 106), taṉiti (Puram 10), uṟaiti (Aimk 333), etc. the particle –t– has no morphological value at all. The only peculiarity in the structure of 'vanti' type forms is that the –t– is nasalized. In the Caṅkam language, the principle of nasalization is associated only with exhibiting the character of the verb as weak, and in no way should it be interpreted as showing the tense. This principle may be illustrated by the comparison of the following three forms:*

vanti (ciṉ) (Aimk 175) Come!

Vantī (Kali. 85) Come!

Vantai (Kali. 63) Come!

All these three forms are in the imperative second singular. Of these, the form vantī is a compound verb and the component elements are '*vantu*' and 'ī'; ī is a verbal root used as imperative: It has lost its meaning 'to give' and here functions as auxiliary suffixed to the form 'vantu'.* Similar forms are *cenṟī* (Akam 46; Narr. 360; Kali 79; 91; 93; 110) *Kantī*, (Pari 6-64; Kali 91), *Koṇṭī* (Kali. 147), *Kēṭṭī* (Kali. 47) *ceppī* (Kali. 93, 83). In all such –ī– imperatives the stem is very clear.

* This subject is dealt in detail in my unpublished D. Phil thesis, "*The Structure of the Tamil Verb*" presented to the University of Oxford, 1956.

The structure of the form '*vantai*' is similar to that of '*vanti!*'. It should be split into '*vantu*' and '*ai*'; *ai* is the second person singular termination as much as the -*i*- in vanti. Kaṭam pūṇṭu orukāl nī vantai (Kali 63).

(கடம் பூண்டு ஒருகால் நீ வந்தை)

Here *vantai* is used in the sense 'come here!'. Similar forms are *kanṭai* (Kali 105; 109; 110; 64; 103). *Uraittai* -k-kāṇ (Kali. 38), etc. In the language of the Caṅkam texts one type of optative is formed by suffixing the optative termination -ka to the old imperative forms ending in -ai.

Eg: Marantai + ka = marantaikka (மறந்தைக்க) (Kali. 27).

cenrai + ka = cenraikka (சென்றைக்க) (K.T. 383)

From the above analysis, it is clear that during the Caṅkam age, indicatives, imperatives and optatives were formed from the same stems such as vantu (வந்து), kaṇṭu (கண்டு), cenru (சென்று).

The following forms occur in the Caṅkam texts:

Past tense: *Finites*:

First Person: *Singular*:

Enricin (K. T. 217; Narr 55; 61), kaṇṭicin (Narr. 126; 177; 195. Puram 22), kēṭṭicin (Puram 150; Narr. 115), vanticin (Puram 125; 373; 139; 369; 371; patir 2-5; 2-6; 5-1; 6-4; 7-1; 7-4; 9-2; 9-10; Narr 50), uvanticin (K.T. 351), maranticin (Akam 38), arinticin (K.T. 247; Narr. 278); teḷinticin (Akam 466), ayarnticin (Akam 147; Puram 149), paṭarnticin (Puram 164), kūrnticin (K.T. 216), āynticin (K.T. 262), cūṛnticin (Akam 76; K.T. 11), anricin (Kuri 34; Puram 151), maruṇṭicin (Akam 384).

Palitticin (Akam 303). Both pēṭurricin (Akam 135) and paiyānticin (Narr. 114) are compounds.

Third Person: Singular:

Mas: cenricin (Narr. 394), perricin (Puram 11).

Fem: Perricin (Puram 11)

Neu: pōnricin (Narr. 240; Amk. 74).
tan-n-enricin (Amk. 73) is a compound.

Past nominals:

Third Person:

Mas: pukarnticinōn (Akam 210)

Fem: pirinticinōḷ (K.T. 336)
iranticinōḷ (Akam 306).

Mas: Fem: plural:

Kaṇṭicinōr (Aimk 85), payanticinōr (Puram 137), maranticinōr (Narr. 118) iranticinōr (Narr. 302), ciranticinōr (Narr. 337), nayanticinōr (Akam 103; Perum 425), pirinticinōr (Narr. 241; K.T. 94; 350; Akam 183; 197), arinticinōr (K.T. 18; 267), aṭainticinōr (K.T. 268), uṇarnticinōr (Puram 365), māynticinōr (Puram 27), cenricinōr (Narr. 314; Akam 34) akanricinōr (Akam 311).

Marutticinōr (Patir 5-5), paṭaitticinōr (Puram 18), munṭicinōr (Patir 7-9) is formed from the foot of the second conjugation. So rarely the roots of the second conjugation form -cin verbs:

munti + cin + ōr = munticinōr.

This example clearly shows that the expletive is -cin and not -i-cin.

Dat: perricinōrkku (Puram 125), pirinticinōrkku (K.T. 35), urainticinōrkku (Akam 200), uyarnticinōrkku (Puram 214), puṇarnticinōrkku (Akam 367), akanricinōrkku (K.T. 127), āṇṭicinōrkku (Puram

357), uṭarricinōrkku (Patir 8-2) is formed from the causative root utarr :

uṭarri + cin + ōr + kku.

Imperative :

All the imperative forms in -cin are used only in reference to the second person singular.

Kaṇṭicin (Akam 99 ; 369 ; Aimk 106 ; 105 ; Narr. 35, 177 ; 202 ; K.T. 112 ; 220 ; 359 ; 249 ; 240), pūṇṭicin (Akam 7), enricin (Akam 375 ; Narr. 99), kēṭṭicin (Matu 208 ; Narr. 78 ; K.T. 30 ; Akam 138, Aimk 59), nōrricin (Puram 202), vanticin (Aimk 175 ; K.T. 367), terinticin (Akam 281), cūṛnticin (Akam 77), nuvanricin (Narr. 200), ānricin (Akam 69 ; 237 ; 267, Narr. 128 ; 286 ; 332 ; Aimk 430).

Uraitticin (K.T. 63 ; 302 ; Akam 191 ; 200 ; 314 ; Narr. 103 ; 176) vaṭitticin (Puram 180), naṭatticinn (Puram 255). The radical vowel -ā is not shortened in kānticin (Akam 164 ; 376).

kān > kaṇ + tu = kanṭu + i + cin = kanticin
kaṇṭicin > kāṇṭicin

Thus the root 'kaṇ' has two imperative forms :

ārricin (Pari 8-79) *is the only imperative form formed* from the root of the second conjugation.

-cin also appears in the following contexts :

It is suffixed to the negative verb anru : anru + cin = anricin (Puram 289). This expletive -cin appears suffixed to another expletive 'marru' :

marru + cin = marricin (Narr. 272).

In the following contexts 'āṅku' the particle of similarity meaning 'like' is compounded with -cin forms which are in the past tense :

vaḷarnticināaṅku (Amk. 44)
miḷirnticināaṅku (Puram 130).

The Problem of the Life and the Age of Kamban—*(Continued)*

A. C. PAUL NADAR

III

THE EMPIRE OF THE LATER CHOLAS AND KAMBAN

It is relevant at this stage to consider what the champions of the 12th century have to say about the subject of Kamban and the empire of the later Cholas.

Prof. K. A. N. Sastry holds that Kamban belongs to the end of the 12th century, the period of its decline. This is what he says as to the reactions of Kamban to the empire :—

> " Kamban imports into his narration the colour of his own time and place. Thus his description of Kosala is an idealised account of the features of Cola country, and when he wants to emphasise the glory of moonlight, he brings it home to his readers by saying that it spreads everywhere like the fame of his patron Sadayan of Vennai "
>
> (*The Colas* — Second Edition, page 671).

The instances the learned professor adduces to show the colour of his time and place do not necessarily apply to the period of the Empire. The country whose features are idealised in the description of Kosala is none other than the land of the Kaveri, which was always the homeland of the Cholas. On the other hand the empire covered the whole of South India at one stage and even in its decline it extended, nominally at least, over the whole of modern Tamilnad, Kerala and Nellore in Andhra Pradesh. The alleged time and colour of Kamban's time refers only to the time of

This article is continued from *Tamil Culture* Vol. VI, No. 2 page 112.

Sadayan, about whose time we have already discussed and pointed out that the earliest inscriptional evidence about Sadayan belongs to the pre-empire days in the 9th century. (Vide p. 111, Vol. VI, No. 2 *Tamil Culture*).

Prof. Vaiyapuri Pillai cites the stanza beginning with "புவி புகழ் சென்னி பேரமலன்" with the reading "புவி புகழ் சென்னி போரமலன்" and other readings such as "சென்னி யோர் புகழும் பொற்புடை சென்னியோனமலன் தொல்புகழ்." He thinks "அமலன்" is not applicable to any one particular Chola ruler. But he adds that the description "புவி புகழ் சென்னி போரமலன்" may apply to Vikrama or Kulothunga II, or Rajaraja II (1118-1163) in the age of the poet "Ottakuthan". The reason that he gives is: கம்பன் காலத்திலிருந்த அரசன் உலகம்முழுவதும் போற்றும் பேரரசனாகவும், சிறந்த போர் வீரனாகவும், பெரும் கொடைவள்ளலாகவு மிருந்தனன் என்பது இச்செய்யுளால் புலனாகிறது. It means that the Chola "Emperor" of Kamban's time must have been respected throughout the world as a valiant warrior and a generous patron. So he thinks that the term "amalan" is applicable to any one of the above said three emperors. The description of the Chola ruler as "Emperor" "பேரரசன்" is his own wishful thinking. There is nothing in the text to warrant it. After all, the description "புவி புகழ் சென்னி போரமலன்" meaning the war-like Chola praised throughout the world, is a poetic expression similar to Sundaramurthy Nayanar's "கடல் சூழ்ந்த உலகெல்லாம் காக்கின்ற பெருமான் காடவர்கோன் கழற்சிங்கன்" describing a Pallava ruler as the protector of the whole world surrounded on all sides by seas.. It is interesting to note that the sheet anchor of Prof. Vaiyapuri Pillai "வன்னிய நாட்டிய" etc., (Vide p. 37, VI, *Tamil Culture*) the stanza No. 58 of *Maruthumalai Padalam* refers to "சென்னி நாட்டெரியல் வீரன் தியாக விநோதன் தெய்வப் பொன்னி நாடு" which means the land of the divine Kaveri and not all the Chola Empire.

In another place Prof. Vaiyapuri Pillai says :

> " At the beginning of the 12th century, the Chola power was at its height, and an imperial state was realised for the first time in the history of the Tamils. It looked as though Kamban appeared just then to give artistic expression to the sovereign power "
>
> (*Kamban Kavyam*, p. 153).

The two assumptions that the Chola empire was at its height in the beginning of the 12th century, and that Kamban appeared at that time are wrong and self-contradictory ; for, according to him, Kamban composed the poem at the end of that century. The decline of the empire, as already stated, had started even before the beginning of the 12th century. The learned Professor does not explain how Kamban gives artistic expression to that sovereign power, and does not correlate the poem to anything connected with the empire (Vide *Kamban Kavyam*, p. 153).

There is one indisputable piece of external evidence to show that Kamban must have lived earlier than the reign of Virarajendra (1063-1069). The Tamil grammar *Virasoliyam* by Buddhamitra was composed at the time and in the name of that Chola Emperor ' Virarajendran '. In the introductory stanza No. 3, he says :—

நாமே வெழுத்துச் சொற்பொருள் யாப்பலங்கார மெனும்
மாமேவு பஞ்சவதிகாரமாம் பரப்பைச் சுருக்கித்
தேமேவிய தொங்கல் தேர் வீரசோழன் திருப்பெயரான்
பூமேலுரைப்பன் வட நூல் மரபும் புகன்று கொண்டே.

In the heart of the text under *Santhipadalam*, he speaks of :

எல்லா வுலகும்
மேவிய வெண்குடைச் செம்பியன் வீர ராசேந்திரன் தன்
நாவியல் செந்தமிழ்ச் சொல்லின் மொழி முதனன்னுதலே.

These stanzas show that the grammar was called *Virasoliyam* after the Chola Virarajendra, who was himself a scholar in the Tamil Language and that the work was

planned on the basis of a synthesis of the Tamil and Sanskrit systems of grammar and rhetoric. There is an old commentary by one Perunthevanar, who is said to be a pupil of the author. In the commentary he cites a stanza as an illustration under section 39 of *Alangara Padalam* which reads as follows :—

ஈண்டு நூல் கண்டான் எழின் மிழலைக் கூற்றத்துப்
பூண்ட புகழ் பொன் பற்றிக் காவலனே—பூண்டவரை
வெல்லும் படைத் தடக்கை வெற்றி புனை வீரன் தன்
சொல்லின் படியே தொகுத்து.

This reading is in accordance with the emendation made by Sadasiva Pandarathar (vide part I *The History of Later Cholas*, page 279). There is no evidence as to who composed the poem and on what occasion. It looks as though the commentator improvised a stanza for the purpose of an illustration. Whatever may be the origin of the stanza, it suggests that the composition of the grammar was at the request of Virarajendra himself and that the author of the stanza knew it as an eye-witness. If his conjecture is correct, there can be no doubt that both the author and commentator of *Virasoliyam* belonged to the time of Virarajendra. At the end of the commentary another stanza occurs, reading as follows :—

தடமார் பொழிற் பொன்பற்றிக் காவலன் றான் மொழிந்த
படி வீர சோழியக் காரிகை நூற்றெண்பஃதோடொன்றின்
திடமார் பொழிப்புரையைப் பெருந்தேவன் செகம் பழிச்சக்
கடுகவே நவின்றான் தமிழ் காதலிற் கற்பவர்க்கே.

This is certainly the composition of the commentator. It shows that he felt in writing the commentary he discharged only a debt which he owed to the author. It is legitimate to infer that the commentator was a pupil of the author, and that if so, he must have been his contemporary. The conjecture and inference receive confirmation from another circumstance in the commentary. Most of the citations of a historical nature refer to Virarajendra himself or

his brothers, his immediate predecessors and his celebrated father Rajendra I such as the battles of Koppam (1054 A.D.) and Kudal Sangamam (1064 A.D.) in which the Tamils won resounding victories over the Western Chalukyas on the banks of the Tungabadra and the Krishna. There is not a single citation of anything later than the time of Virarajendra though the succeeding century saw so many events glorified in verse and song by such celebrated poets as Jayankondar of *Kalingathuparani* and Ottakuthar of the *Ulas*. Further in the nature of things it is reasonable to expect a commentary immediately as the text would be unintelligible without it. It breaks new ground of synthesising Sanskrit and Tamil grammars. There can be therefore, no doubt that the commentator also lived and wrote in the reign of Virarajendra or about his time.

Now this commentary makes a distinct reference to Kamban stating கம்பனுரிடைப் பெருமை யுளது (there is greatness in Kamban) as an illustration of the 7th case in the grammar. It is said that there are some manuscripts in which the reading is நம்பனுரிடைப் பெருமை யுளது instead of கம்பனுரிடைப் பெருமை யுளது. But Prof. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai says that the oldest manuscripts support the reading கம்பனுரிடைப் பெருமை யுளது and accepts it as a reference to the great poet. The learned Professor however disputes the age of the commentator and holds that he must belong to the end of the 12th century. His reasoning is somewhat curious. He admits that the commentator refers abundantly to the incidents and names of the time of Virarajendra (1063 to 1069) and Rajendra I (1014 to 1044) and therefore he infers that the commentator would not be very much later than these rulers and so in his usual way he concludes that there should be a lapse of at least a century between the text and the commentary of *Virasoliyam*. It is only obvious that he post-dates the time of the commentator in order to support his own case of assigning the end of the 12th century as the age of Kamban. The postponement of the time is the only way of escape out of

the difficulties he has created for himself by assigning first the age of Kamban and then trying to explain away the evidence against it. This is putting the cart before the horse (vide தமிழ்ச் சுடர் மணிகள் 118 & 119). It is interesting to note that Prof. K. A. N. Sastry holds that the commentator was the pupil of the author and apparently concedes the contemporaneity of both from the citations in the commentary above referred to. (Vide *Colas*, page 683, Second edition, 1955). But the learned Professor ignores this piece of evidence afforded by the commentary of *Virasoliyam* for fixing the age of Kamban.

It may be noted that the commentator Perunthevanar refers to Kamban in the honorific plural as Kambaṇar and that he did not profess Vaishnavism but Buddhism. It is legitimate to infer that some time must have elapsed for such a recognition. It is difficult to say how long it must have taken for it in the absence of any clear evidence. Considering the difficulties of communications, paucity of manuscript copies of the poem, prejudices, rivalries and animosities of religious sects and the immense prestige which Sanskrit had acquired by that time throwing Tamil in the background, we shall not be far wrong if we allow more than a century. If this estimate be correct, Kamban must have lived not later than the middle of the 10th century of the Christian era, that is to say before the foundation of the empire under Rajaraja the Great (985-1030).

Apart from the evidence offered by the commentator of the *Virasoliyam*, the best evidence available is the text of *Kambaramayanam* to show whether the author had anything to do with the empire. However it may be remembered that the text we have has been meddled with.

Kambar is acknowledged to be a learned poet. The saying 'கல்வியிற் பெரியன் கம்பன்' has pursued him down the centuries. Though he rises to great heights in universalism, he is not indifferent to particularism. His attachment to

the land of the Kaveri where he was born and bred and everything pertaining to it are an obsession with him. Deep love for that land is evident throughout the poem. He idealised even Kosala in terms of his own homeland. Its merit lies in being like the land of the Kaveri. காவிரி நாடன்ன கழனி நாடு (குகப்படலம்). In his enthusiasm for the land of Kaveri, he even peoples Kosala with the Tamil Tribes and clans, such as பண்கள் வாய் மிழற்றும் இன்சொல் கடைசியர்; உண்கள்வார் கடைவார் மள்ளர்; தெள் விளிச் சீறியாழ்ப்பாணர்; வென்ற உழத்தியர் (நாடு 10, 8, 24); ஆறு 13 கொடிச்சியர்; 14 எயினர்; 15 ஆயர். These are at least the tribes of Marutham and Mullai (arable and pastoral lands) but நுளைச்சியர் of Neithal (coastland) (நாடு 34) with pearls appears in Kosala. It need hardly be said that Kosala has no sea coast. The poet is only dreaming of his own land.

No river is so sacred as his own divine Kaveri. தெய்வப் பொன்னி எனலாய ஆறும் உள (அகத்தியப் படலம் 58). His mother tongue is not only sweet, but eternal என்றுமுள தென்றமிழ் (அகத்திய படலம்). He asserts that the Tamil is superior to the language of the Four Vedas in simplicity, beauty and profundity.

உழக்கு மறைநாலினு முயர்ந்துலகமோதும்
வழக்கினும் மதிக் கவினினும் மரபினுடி.

(அகத்தியப் படலம் 41)

His wishful thinking makes his hero Rama as proficient in Tamil as in Sanskrit.

தென்சொற் கடந்தான் வடசொற்கெல்லை தேர்ந்தான்
(நகர்நீங்கு 140)

He even forges a political connection for the family of his patron Sadayan by making his ancestors hand over the crown at the coronation of Rama at Ayodhya

விரை செறி கமலத்தாள் சேர் வெண்ணெய் மன் சடையன்
—தங்கள்
மரபுளோர் கொடுக்க வாங்கி வசிட்டனே புனைந்தான் மௌலி
(திருவடிசூட்டு 38)

It is needless to multiply examples of similar nature so abundantly scattered throughout the poem. The students of *Kambaramayanam* may feel that the poet must have as a preparation for making the poem, observed intensely, meditated deeply and understood minutely till his knowledge became habitual and intuitive and wedded itself to his feelings and emotions. Equipped with superb mental training, gifted with a penetrating imagination and endowed with deep emotions and fired with a burning love for the Tamil Nad, we should expect the poet to react powerfully to the fact, nature and character of the Chola Empire and its glorious achievements, only if he had lived during the empire or immediately after.

Among the glorious achievements of the Empire, the first and foremost is the accomplishment of the political unity of South India between the seas with Kalinga in the North and Ceylon in the South. On one occasion at least under Rajendra I they had extensive territories inclusive of Kosala and South East Asia up to Java. For three quarters of a century Ceylon became the Province of the Empire and several villages in it were endowed to the big temple at Tanjore. The conquest of Lanka by Rajaraja the Great inspired his Court Poet to sing in his " மெய்க்கீர்த்தி "

> " Rama built with the aid of the monkeys a causeway over the seas and then slew with great difficulty the King of Lanka by means of sharp-edged arrows. But Rama was excelled by King (Rajaraja) whose powerful army crossed the ocean by ships and burnt up the King of Lanka "

(Vide Thiruvalangadu plates cited in
K. A. N. Sastry's *Colas*, 2nd edition, page 172).

Kamban did not forget his patron Sadayan while dealing with the building of the causeway in *Sethubandana-padalam* (Vide page 107, Vol. VI, No. 2, *Tamil Culture*). If only the poet were aware of the conquest of Lanka by Rajaraja and administration of it as part of the Chola

Empire, it is quite natural to expect the poet to make allusion to it in some form or other. As a matter of fact he does not make any allusion at all. On the other hand he seems to be quite ignorant of the geography of Ceylon. He treats it as one island City-fortress built on a hill 'விலங்கல் மேல் இலங்கை' (காட்சிப்படலம் 1) 'வீங்கு நீர் இலங்கை வெற்பு' (Vide p. 253, Silver Jubilee edition of *Sundara Kandam,* Annamalai University).

'கண்டனென் இலங்கை மூதூர் கடிபொழில் கனக நாஞ்சில்'.

It is difficult to believe that Kamban was so ignorant of the geography of Ceylon if he lived at any time during the days of the Empire or after.

Rajendra Chola conquered Kosala. His மெய்க்கீர்த்தி says:

பூசுரர் சேரு நற் கோசலநாடும்
தன்ம பாலனை வெம் முனையழித்து
வண்டுறை சோலைத் தண்ட புத்தியும்
இரண சூரனை முரணறத் தாக்கித்
திக்கணை கீர்த்தித் தக்கண லாடமும்
கோவிந்த சந்தன் மாவிழிந்தோடத்
தங்காத சாரல் வங்காள தேசமும்
தொடு கழற் சங்கு கொட்டல் மகிபாலனை
வெஞ்சமர் வளாகத் தஞ்சுவித்தருளி
ஒண்டிறல் யானையும் பெண்டிற் பண்டாரமும்
நித்திர நெடுங்கடல் உத்தரலாடமும்
வெறி மலர்த்தீர்த்தத் தெறிபுனற் கங்கையும்

(Vide T. V. Sadasiva Pandarathar's *History of Later Cholas* Part I, pp. 257-58. For the identification of places—vide pp. 156-157).

It is said that his object of invading North India was to purify his land with the waters of the Ganges. In the above quotation Kosala is referred to as the land of Gods of earth (Brahmins). Hence there can be no doubt that Rama's Kosala was meant. Politically at the time it was part of the territory of Bengal, under the rule of the Palas.

The waters of the Ganges were brought to fill the tank at Gangaikondacholapuram. Both the conquest of Kosala and bringing the waters of the Ganges must have filled the Tamils of the period with great pride. Jayankondar of a later age said of Rajendra :

> களிறு கங்கை நீருண்ண மண்ணையில்
> காய் சினத்தோடே கலவு செம்பியன்

It is difficult to imagine that if Kamban had lived at that time or after it, the events failed to make any impression on his mind. We do not hear any echo of these glorious events in the text of *Kambaramayanam.* It is needless to add that the poet had many opportunities of referring to these glorious acts while dealing with the country of Kosala and the river Ganges.

Now, if Kamban lived during the Empire or after it, apart from sentimental reactions, we should expect him to note realistically the geographical situations as well as political and administrative divisions in the Empire. He had an opportunity to deal with various places within the limits of the Empire in the light of the directions given by Sugriva to Hanuman to search for the heroine Sita kidnapped by Ravana, and the places actually visited by Hanuman and his search party. The directions are contained in the *Nadavittapadalam* and the search is dealt with in the *Pilaneenkupadalam* in Kishkinda Kandam. Unfortunately the text is meddled with in all the three padalams. The kidnapping took place at Panchavadi usually identified with Nasik above the source of the river Godavari (or above the upper course of that river as the Andhras would have it). Rama and Lakshmana traced the kidnapper as far as Kishkinda, where some of the jewels of Sita were recovered. Sugriva was convinced that Ravana must have taken Sita only to Lanka, lying south in the seas. So, the search in the Southern parts became the most important, and Hanuman was deputed to go to the South. This is what Kamban says :

தென்றிசைக் கணிராவணன் சேணகர்
என்றிசைக் கின்ற தென்ன வின்னணம்
வன்றிசைக் கினி மாருதி நீயலால்
வென்றிசைக் குரியார் பிறர் வேண்டுமோ

வள்ள றேவியை வஞ்சித்து வெளவிய
கள்ள வாளரக்கன் செலக்கண்டது
தெள்ளியோ யிது தென்றிசை யென்பதோர்
உள்ளமும் எனக்குண்டென உன்னுவான்

(நாடவிட்டபடலம் 7 - 8)

These stanzas show that Sugriva had absolutely no doubt about the direction in which Sita was taken, namely the south of Kishkinda usually identified with the plateau of Mysore in the region of the old Bellary District in the combined state of Madras. Now, south of Kishkinda lies the Tamil Nad. This received confirmation from stanza No. 2 of *Pilaneengupadalam* which deals with the proposal of the poet கவிக்கூற்று to begin the story of the actual search made by the party of Hanuman deputed to the Southern section. It reads :—

குன்றிசைத்தன வெனக் குலவுத் தோள் வலியினுர்
மின்றிசைத்திடு மிசைக்கொடியை நாடினர் விராய
வன்றிசைப் படருமாறு ஒழிய வண்டமிழ் முடைத்
தென்றிசைச் சென்றுளார் திறனெடுத்துரை செய்வாம்

(பிலநீங்குப் படலம் 2)

The poet refers distinctly to the land lying south and speaking the Tamil language. This is the region where the search started according to this stanza. But the next stanza says that the search party reached the Vindhyas

சிந்துராகத் தொடுந் திரண்மணிச் சுடர் செறின்
தந்திவானத் தினின்றவிர் தலானரவிஞே
டிந்தியா றெய் தலானிறைவன் மாமெளலிபோல்
விந்தை நாகத்தின் மாடெய்திஞர் வெய்திஞல்.

(பிலநீங்குப் படலம் 3)

It needs hardly to say that the Vindhyas are not in the south, but are several hundred miles north of Kishkinda.

It is obvious that clumsy interpolations are made while retaining the stanza in which the poet's proposal to deal with the search in the Tamilnad. The same clumsy interpolations are patent in *Nadavittapadalam,* where in stanza No. 2, directions are given by Sugriva for a search in the Vindhyas contrary to the distinct statement in stanza No. 8 in the same padalam above cited indicating that the search should start in the Tamilnad. Reserving for later consideration the interpolated portions, we now take up the directions about and the actual search in the Tamilnad.

Sugriva's directions refer to (1) the sacred Tirupathi Hills as marking the boundary between the region of that northern language (Sanskrit) and that of the southern language (Tamil), (2) the Tondainadu, (3) the land of the divine Ponni (otherwise named Cholanadu), (4) the malai nadu (the land of the mountains), (5) the wide south Tamilnad, (6) the Pothia Hills of the sage Agasthiar with the Tamil Sangam, (7) the Porunai river filled with gold ore, (8) Mahendra Hill (*Nadavittapadalam,* 26-32). In *Arruselpadalam,* the actual search made in the same places with slight variations of the place names. Instead of Tondainadu we have Tandakanadu. The expression Cholanadu is not mentioned as referring to the land of the Kaveri. Pothia Hill and the Tampravarni river are omitted in the search. It is significant to note the geographical divisions, the physical features, religious sanctity and linguistic charm of the Tamilnad. It is still more significant to note the absence of any reference whatsoever to the rulers of the traditional Tamilnad such beloved names as Chera, Chola, Pandia, and nothing to indicate the Pallava rulers, political divisions or their capital cities with temples and places and seats of learning. There is nothing to indicate the achievements of a political unity even at least as far as the Tamil Nad was concerned. Nothing can be more preposterous than to say that Kamban though belonging to the Empire completely ignored its importance and failed

to express it. The only conclusion possible is that Kamban lived before the Empire was founded.

This receives confirmation from three important references in the text. The first one is afforded by stanza No. 38 in *Arruselpadalam*.

> சூடியாண்டச் சுரி குழற்றேகையைத்
> தேடி வார்புனற் றெண்டிரைத் தண்டக
> நாடு நண்ணு கின்றூர் மறை நாவலர்
> வேட மேயினர் வேண்டுரு மேவுவார்.

Hanuman and his party were capable of taking any shape they liked. When the search was made in Tandakanad, they assumed the shape of Vedic Brahmins. What must have been their purpose ? The purpose is rendered clear by the status and position attained by the Brahmins in Tondaimandalam under the Pallavas. " They patronised the northern culture and Kanchi was a great centre of Sanskrit learning from the 7th century A.D. They founded Brahmin settlements on the banks of rivers particularly in the neighbourhood of their imperial capital and encouraged their progress in various directions. Their imperial resources were utilised for the encouragment of the Brahminic cultures " (vide Sathianathar's *Studies in the Ancient History of Tondaimandalam*). Imitation is the sincerest form of flattery. The search party metamorphosed as Brahmins would be sure of a reception among their equals. It is significant that Tondaimandalam is singled out for such transformation indicating the origin and growth of Brahminic influence. Under the Empire it extended to the Cholamandalam where it reached its zenith. This policy of metamorphosis confined to Tondaimandalam denotes a matter of great significance. It reflects the mind of the age. It is legitimate to infer that *Kambaramayanam* must have been composed before the Chola Empire was founded.

The second reference indicating a historic period is given in stanza No. 52 of *Arruselpadalam* :

அனைய பொன்னியகன் புன்னாடொரீஇ
மனையின் மாட்சி குலாமலை மண்டலம்
வினையினீங்கிய பண்பினர் மேயினார்
இணைய தென்றமிழ் நாடு சென்றெய்தினார்

The second line மனையின் மாட்சி குலா மலை மண்டலம் is important. The mountainous region of the West Coast is described as the region where the virtue of chastity blossomed abundantly. It is exactly what one should expect from the land which was the first to honour the Pattini cult of Kannaki by constructing a shrine for the goddess of chastity. Later on, a different cult prevailed with the advent of Nambudri Brahmin settlers who introduced novel manners and customs in the domestic life on the west coast leading to the formation of a new order in the matter of social and sexual relations subversive of the old order until remedied in recent years by reformist movements. The decline in domestic virtue may have started after the end of the rule of the Perumals in the 9th century A.D. The reference therefore to the chastity of the people of the West Coast shows clearly that Kamban must have lived before the new manners made headway about the 10th century A.D.

The third reference is related to the identification of Cholanadu with the land of the Kaveri alone. Under the empire the Cholanadu expanded over a large area including almost the whole of South India (compare 29 and 30 of *Nadavittapadalam* and 47 and 52 of *Arrusel-padalam*).

The geographical knowledge disclosed in what may be considered in the interpolated portions of *Nadavitta, Pila-neengu* and *Arrusel padalams* is revealing. The places and tribes mentioned in them may be compared with what appears in Valmiki on the one hand and *Kalingattuparanai* on the other. *Kalingattuparani* was composed in 1115 A.D. by the poet Jayankondar at the court of Kulotunga I (1070-1118) to celebrate the victory of Karunakara Tondaiman,

the Chola General over Kalinga lying between the Godavari and Mahanadi. It mentions certain rivers crossed by the army of invasion in its march from Conjeevaram to Kalinga. They may be taken as rivers known to the Tamils of the days of the empire, as they formed part of the greater Cholanad (Vide Pandarathar's *Later Cholas,* Part II, page 27).

MOUNTAINS, RIVERS, PLACES, TRIBES.

According to Valmiki.	*According to Kamban*	*According to Kalingattuparani from Conjeevaram to North Kalinga.*
1. Vindhya	Vindhya	Palaru
2. Narbada	Narbada	Kusaitalai Aru
3. Godavari	Yemakoodam	Ponmuhai
4. Krishna	Pennai - Red & Black	Kolli Aru
5. Mekkilas	Vidarba	Pennai
6. Utkalas	Tandakam	Mannaru
7. Cities of Dac, Arna	Mundakathurai	Kunti Aru
	Pandumalai	Peraru (Krishna)
8. Asuvanthi	Godavari	Godavari
9. Avanthi	Suvanam	Pambanadhi
10. Vidarba	Suryakandam	Gayathrinadhi
11. Rishtikas	Chandrakandam	Gauthamanadhi
12. Mahisakas	Konkanam	
13. Matsyas	Kulingam	
14. Kalingas	Suranadhi	
15. Kansikas	Arunthathi malai	
16. Dandaka	Maragathamalai	
17. Andhras	Venkatam	
18. Paundras	Ponninadu (Chola-nadu)	
19. Cholas		
	Malainadu	
20. Pandyas	Sonte Tamilnad	
21. Keralas	Pothia hill	
22. Ayosmuka	Porunai	
23. Kaveri	Mahendra	
24. Tambaravarni	Sea	
25. Capital of Pandya		
26. Mahendra.		

The geography disclosed in Valmiki is primitive and necessarily imperfect. What is most surprising is that even the

places in North India are not correctly given. For example, the land of the Matsyas lay west of the Jamuna, and Avanti was South of Vindhyas. They are misplaced. There is a variation between the places mentioned in the direction given by Sugriva and those actually covered by the search party of Angada and Hanuman. Apparently, the text in *Kambaramayanam* was sought to be brought into conformity with Valmiki. It is however inexplicable how it varies from Valmiki. A river in Tamilnad like Pennai—red or black is placed between Yemakoodam and Vidarba in Maharashtra. The river Swanam is placed between the Godavari and Suryakantha. According to the learned commentator V. M. Sadagopa Ramanujachari, the Swanam is none other than the sacred river Ganges. But so far as the twelve rivers mentioned in *Kalingathuparani* are concerned, they are real rivers, being situated within the Chola Empire. Kulothunga I to whom the poem is addressed was born and bred in the land of Vengi between the Godavari and Krishna. So we may take it there could be no mistake about either the identity or the situation of the rivers (vide Pandarathar's *History of the Later Cholas*, Part II, page 27). If Kamban or the interpolator who introduced the new stanzas in the abovesaid padalam belonged to the period of the Empire, we should expect a more realistic grasp of the places mentioned therein and their situation. The irresistible conclusion is that Kamban must have lived before the Empire.

During the period of the Empire, the large importation of Brahmin priests and Vedic scholars and their exclusive establishment in Chathur-Vedimangalams brought about a great social revolution. No doubt the Pallavas started the mahasaba villages, but their golden age was reached during the later Cholas. The period of exactly 200 years from 920 A.D. to 1120 A.D. show their fullest development.

Besides the great Ghatika at Kanchi, there were colleges for Sanskrit education at Ennayiram (near Villupu-

ram), Tribhuvanam in Pondicheri area and Tirumukkoodal in Chingleput District and other places. They were all richly endowed by the Chola emperors. There is not a shred of evidence to show that Tamil was encouraged in a similar manner. Under the Cholas, caste was the basis of the social organisation.

This cultural and social revolution is not echoed in *Kambaramayanam*. In *Balakandam,* the people referred to are the old tribes of Tamilnad occupying the various regions such as கொடிச்சியர், எயினர், ஆயர், கோவலர், மள்ளர், உழத்தியர், கடைசியர், நுளைச்சியர். It is therefore legitimate to infer that Kamban must have lived before the foundation of the Empire. (vide M. Sreenivasa Iyengar's *Tamil Studies,* I series, page 62 ; Satyanatha Iyer's *Studies in the Ancient History of Thondaimandalam,* pages 38 to 40 ; K. N. Sastry's *Colas,* Chapter XX for the social and cultural revolutions.)

The learned Sanskrit Pundits invented fanciful geneologies connecting the Cholas with the Solar race of Ayodhya. The Sanskrit poems attached to the Tiruvalangadu copper plates and Karanthai Tamil Sangam copper plates give the geneologies. But the former makes Cholan come after Baratha the 25th in descent from Surya: Bharathan as a matter of fact belongs to the Lunar race. The latter makes Cholan, the son of Sibi the sixth in descent from Surya. The former belongs to the time of Sundara Chola (957 to 970 A.D. and the later is in honour of Rajendra I. (1012 to 1044 A.D.). Now the text of *Kambaramayanam* gives a different list of Rulers of Ayodhya. The list includes (1) Aditya, (2) Manu, (3) Phiruhu, (4) Ikshuvahu, (5) Nimi, (6) Mandhada, (7) Diliban, (8) Sibi, (9) Saharan, (10) Baheradhan, (11) Sudarsan, (12) Ayan, (13) Dayarathan. Cholan is not at all mentioned anywhere. It is possible and probable that Kamban must have lived long before these fanciful geneologies were invented.

The secular tribal monarchy of the early Tamils was developed in course of time by poets and saints as a deified monarchy. An unknown poet refers to Karikal Chola as God Vishnu in the language of a love stricken girl:

அரிமா சுமந்த அமளி மேலானை
திருமா வளவனெனத் தேறேன்—திருமார்பின
மானமால் என்றே தொழுதேன் தொழுதகை
போனவா பெய்தவளை

(Vide *Perumbanatrupadai* Appendix in Swaminatha Iyer's Edition.)

Tirukural elevates the just king to the level of a God:

முறை செய்து காப்பாற்று மன்னன் மக்கட்கு
இறை யென்று வைக்கப்படும்.

Nammalvar sees the God Vishnu in a good king:

திருவுடை மன்னரைக் காணில் திருமாலைக் கண்டேனே.

The process of deification reached its zenith under the Chola Emperors whose geneology was connected with the Solar race of the kings of Ayodhya. Jayankondar refers to Kulotunga I as the re-incarnated Sri Krishna himself:

இருள் முழுது மகற்றும் விதுகுலத்தோன் தேவி
இகல் விளங்கு தபனகுலத்திராச ராசன்
அருள் திருவின் திருவயிற்றில் வந்து தோன்றி
ஆலிலையி னவதரித்தானவனே மீள.

(vide *Kalingathuparani*, stanza 234).

"Several temples of the period (of the Empire) and often also the chief icons in them were called after the ruling kings who established them. The worship accorded to idols who are called sometimes after living monarchs seems to have been connected with the apotheosis of Royal personages after their demise"

(K. A. N. Sastri's *Colas*, 2nd Edition, p. 452).

Kamban is no party to this process of deification or of apotheosis of rulers. On the other hand any ruler must work as hard as any poor man on his hard piece of land :

வையகம் முழுவ்தும் வறிஞன் ஓம்பும் ஓர்
செய்யனைக் காத்து இனிது அரசு செய்கின்றான்.

(Vide *Arruselpadalam*, Stanza 3 in *Balakandam*).

Further Kamban's unique conception of a ruler is that he is only the body and the people are the life :

வையகம் மன்னுயிராக அம்மன்னுயிர்
உய்யத் தாங்கு முடலன்ன மன்னன்

(Vide *Mantharaichulchipadalam*, 17).

The reaction of the public to the announcement of the proposed coronation of Rama is expressed by Kamban in unmistakable democratic urge ; in stanza No. 76 of *Mantharapadalam* :

ஒத்த சிந்தை யருவகை யரொருவர்க் கங்கொருவர்
தத்தமக்குற்ற வர செனத் தழைக்கின்ற மனத்தர்.

Every man feels as though his own coronation is expected. Deification is the negation of democracy. Kamban is certainly nearer the innate democratic culture of the early Tamils. There is no trace of the later cult of the Empire.

However, there are certain features in the present text of *Kambaramayanam* indicating the decline of manners and morals characteristic of the age of the Imperial Cholas as evidenced in the *Ula* poems of Ottakoothar. It is already pointed out that many stanzas in *Balakandam* describing the amusements of the wedding guests from Ayodhi on their march to Mithila are incongruous in the light of what appears to be the poet's great basic principles such as his condemnation of laxity in sexual relationship and abhorrence of intoxicating drinks (Vide *Tamil Culture*, Vol. VI, page 33). Both men and women drink nothing but toddy : this is their whole food (Vide *Undattupadalam*). Now Kamban condemns liquor as நிந்தனை நறவம் (Vide

விபீடணனடைக்கலப் படலம் 100; நிகும்பலை 174 and Murugappa's *Kambar Kavyam*, pp. 39-50). Indeed, he draws a sharp distinction between the life at Lanka and that at Ayodhi in the matter of drink so common at the former place. The spectacular devotion to sensuality displayed by the wedding guests belies the assertion of Kamban in the very first stanza of the body of the poem that both men and women of Ayodhi do not swerve from the path of virtue even in the enjoyment of sensual pleasures (Vide No. 1 in *Arrupadalam* in *Balakandam*). That stanza serves as தோற்றுவாய்— a sort of key to the understanding of the theme in the poem. The plot hinges on the victory of Rama over the passion of Surpanaka and the victory of Sita over the passion of Ravana leading inevitably to the destruction of Ravana.

As a matter of fact, the five padalams namely, *Eluchi, Varaikatchi, Pookai, Punalvilayatu and Undattu padalams* are not in Valmiki's. The learned commentator of modern times, Sri V. M. Satagopa Ramanujachary thinks that Kamban has invented these to make his poem to answer to the requirements of an Epic poem. If what is said above are the basic principles on which the plot of the poem is worked out, the padalams run contrary to those principles and ought to be rejected as interpolations. Sri T. K. C. rejects the last four and Murugappa rejects the last three. It is for experts of forms, metre and ideas to consider how far these five padalams are genuine and integral parts of *Kambaramayanam*. In any case, to the extent that these padalams run contra to the first stanza in *Arrupadalam* in *Balakandam* they cannot be genuine. Otherwise the poem loses its unity, and consequently its greatness.

In the light of the materials placed above, it is almost certain that Kamban was not a contemporary of the Chola Empire (1000 to 1200 A.D.) and that he must have lived prior to the period of the Chola Empire.

(To be continued)

Gleanings from the Silappadhikaram

V. S. MUDALIYAR.

I. MARRIAGE, TEMPLES AND THE ARTS.

The *Silappathikaram,* written in the 2nd century A.D. by Ilango Adigal, is a mine of interesting and useful information on almost every phase of Tamil civilization and culture as it existed some 1,800 years ago. It gives us, as it were, a full length portrait of the ancient Tamil and its ways. No other Tamil work, before or since, has given us such vivid pictures, with such wealth of detail, of the Tamil society of a by-gone age. It is no wonder, then, that it is acclaimed by all Tamil scholars as a monumental work of great historical and sociological value and interest to the Tamil world. The picture of Tamil civilization and culture, as portrayed in the *Silappathikaram,* may be conveniently studied under specific heads, such as marriage, temples, arts, etc.

MARRIAGE :

Kovalan, a young lad of 16 belonging to the merchant community, marries Kannagi, a young girl of 12, also of the same community. The marriage is performed by a Brahmin according to Vedic rites, and after the marriage, the bridal pair go round the sacrificial fire under his guidance.[1] This is the picture we get from the *Silappathikaram.* It will be noted that even as early as the 2nd century A.D. (which is the age of the *Silappathikaram*), the ritualistic type of marriage with which we in South India are familiar, was in vogue in the Tamil land. The

[1] "மாமுது பார்ப்பான் மறைவழி காட்டிடத் தீவலம் செய்து ...."
மங்கல வாழ்த்துப்பாடல்—வரி 53-4.

older type of marriage—the clandestine marriage which formed the perennial theme of the Tamil bards of an earlier age—was substituted in certain strata of society by Brahminical marriage under Vedic rites. Another point which deserves notice is this : The ideal age for marriage, according to the conception of the day, was a little less than 16 years for the male and a little less than 12 years for the female.

TEMPLES AND GODS :

There appears to have been already an adoption of Aryan gods in the Tamil country. In the *Indira Vizhavoor-edutha Kathai,* or the story of Indra's festival, five temples are mentioned : they are the temples of Siva, Murugan, Bala Devan, Vishnu and Indra. In *Kanathiramuraitha Kathai,* or the story of the dream, ten kottams—lesser temples presumably—are mentioned. They are those of :

(1) Karpaga—the tree of Swarga.
(2) Irawadham—Indra's elephant.
(3) Bala Devan.
(4) Surya—the Sun God.
(5) Kailas—Siva's abode.
(6) Vel Murugan's weapon.
(7) Indra's vajra padai—Indra's weapons.
(8) Iyyanar.
(9) Aruhan.
(10) Chandra—the Moon God.

It will be seen that the temples in the country, big and small, were also dedicated to Aryan or Aryanised gods. Another point worthy of notice here is the absence of all mention of a temple for Vigneswara in the two lists, which clearly points to the fact that the cult of Vigneswara worship had not penetrated the Tamil land then. When it subsequently entered and began to hold sway in Tamil Nad is a matter for future research.

To say that Aryan gods, Aryan rites and Aryan form of marriage were prevalent in the Tamil land in the *Silappathikaram* age is not to say, however, that Aryan civilization and culture had supplanted, or even dominated, Tamil civilization and culture, Tamil habits and modes of living. On the contrary, in their arts, in their dress, in the ornaments they wore, in their pastimes, in their conception of the relationship between the sexes, in their philosophy and beliefs, the Tamils continued to preserve their individuality and culture.

DANCING :

Of all the arts, the art of Dancing occupies a supreme place in the life of the people. The glamour for this art and its supremacy are such that it would be difficult to find a parallel to them in the cultural history of the world. A young dancer, Madhavi, after the usual seven-year probation, makes her debut. She is taken to the dancing hall or theatre in a triumphal procession, headed by the king and the five great orders, viz., the ministers, the priests, the generals, the ambassadors, and the saranars.[2] What an escort for a mere dancer ! We can well imagine the importance, or rather the pre-eminence, this art had assumed in the nation's eyes. *Arangetruthal*, it would seem, had come to acquire all the importance and grandeur of a state function.

Arangetru-kathai, or the story of the great debut, occupies an honoured place in the poem, not only because of its bearing on the story, but for the light it throws on the standard of excellence the art of dancing had attained and the love of the Tamils for this great art. This *Kathai* abounds in detailed information concerning every phase of the art, so much so it can verily be called a complete treatise on dancing. It starts with laying down the first requisite in a votary of the art, viz., that she should be

[2] *அரங்கேற்றுகாதை—வரி 125-28.*

one in whom dancing, singing and beauty are present in equal measure. In other words, it would have been incongruous to have a dancer whose beauty, say, is less compared with her talent for music or dancing.[3]

Then, starting at the age of five, she had to undergo tuition and training for full seven years under no less than six tutors, *viz.*, 1. ஆடலாசான் (Dancing master) ; 2. இசையாசிரியன் (Music teacher) ; 3. இயல்தமிழ்ப் புலவன் (Tamil poet) ; 4. தண்ணுமை முதல்வன் (Master drummer) ; 5. குழலோன் (Flutist) ; 6. யாழாசிரியன் (Veena master). The qualifications of each one of these tutors are elaborately set forth. The music teacher, for instance, should be one who not only knows the Tamil language and Tamil music, but is conversant with the languages and music of other tracts.[4] The Tamil *pulavan* should be one who is well versed in all three branches of Tamil literature, viz., Poetry, Music and Drama.[5]

Three musical instruments accompany the dance recital ; they are யாழ் (Veena) ; குழல் (Flute) ; and தண்ணுமை (drum). It is clear from *Silappathikaram* that the person playing this last instrument தண்ணுமை is the leader of the music, harmonising the vocal music with the instrumental, and suppressing the excess and supplying the deficiency in the music of the flute and the Veena.[6]

With regard to the dancing proper, the *Silappathikaram* gives us an idea of all that a dancer seeking public acclamation must do by way of exhibiting her skill and perfection in the entire range of this difficult art. It would be interesting, in these days when the dancing art is again

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3 அரங்கேற்றுகாதை—வரி 8-9.

4 அரங்கேற்றுகாதை—வரி 30-2.

5 அரங்கேற்றுகாதை—வரி 37-8.

6 அரங்கேற்றுகாதை—வரி 50-5.

in the ascendent, to compare the present day exposition of the art with that of Madhavi as portrayed in the *Silappathikaram,* but it is a task which only those that are working in the field of "Nattiyam" can usefully undertake. Here it will be sufficient to state that Madhavi's dancing is said to have exemplified all the rules laid down in authoritative works on the art of Dance.[7] It is a tribute to the aesthetic taste of the Tamils that they should have, in that early age, fostered and brought the art of dancing to such a standard of excellence and invested it with what, for want of a better term, we may call "national" importance.

To turn to the other side of the picture : The dancing art was confined to the "Kanikayer", or the dancing girls' group. It goes without saying that Madhavi belongs to this group. She is just 12 years old when she makes her debut as a full-fledged dancer. The king, in token of his appreciation of her skill in dancing, presents her with a green garland (*emerald chain*) and, following the practice of her community, also publicly sets a value upon it, *viz.,* 1008 gold pieces, which is the price (தலைவரிசை) anyone wishing to claim her love must pay.[8]

Madhavi's maid takes the garland to the place where the rich lads of the City congregate, and there, like any other article for barter, she hawks it about for sale, saying, "The value set upon this is 1008 gold pieces. Whoever pays this sum will become Madhavi's lover."[9] Kovalan, Kannagi's husband, happens to hear this. He pays the price, and completely forgetting and forsaking his wedded wife with whom he had lived happily till then, goes over to Madhavi's house where he lives for many years as her lover.

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7 அரங்கேற்றுகாதை—வரி *158-59.*
8 அரங்கேற்றுகாதை—வரி *163-64.*
9 அரங்கேற்றுகாதை—வரி *164-69.*

II. KARPU.

There is no English word which can adequately bring out the full connotation of the Tamil term "Karpu" (கற்பு.) It is not merely wifely chastity and faithfulness, although it is the most important element in its connotation. It is, in addition to absolute fidelity in thought, word and deed, absolute devotion, absolute deference and regard, absolute submission and self-effacement on the part of the wife towards her husband.

To the ideal wife, her husband is as the very breath of her life, and is as inseparable in death as in life, i.e., she must not survive her husband; she must die with him.

He is her God, and she need not, nay should not, like others, pray to a deity.[10]

Patience is her watchword. Fear (அச்சம்), Ignorance or its mask (மடமை), Modesty and delicacy (பயிர்ப்பு), and Bashfulness (நாணம்) are her insignia.

She should, like Portia, behave as though she were an "Unlessoned girl, unschooled and unpractised", but willing and eager to learn and improve. She should be thoroughly imbued with a sense of modesty and delicacy. And lastly, she should always wear the mantle of bashfulness, and never appear to be too open or forward.

Her husband may be unkind, unfaithful or cruel to her, but it is not for her to remonstrate, much less utter a word of reproach. It is for her to bear her trials meekly and in a truly forgiving spirit.[11]

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10 "ஆடுது மென்ற அணியிழைக் கவ்வாயிழையாள் பீடன்றென விருந்த பின்னரே"—கனாத்திறமுரைத்தகாதை—வரி 63-4.

11 "கன்னிதன்னைப் புணர்ந்தாலும்
புலவாதொழிதல் கயற்கண்ணாய்
மன்னுமாதர் பெருங்கற்பென்
றறிந்தேன் வாழிகாவேரி". —கானல்வரி, பாட்டு 3.

Such was our forefathers' conception of the ideal wife! The apotheosis of "Karpu" in the above sense is the key-note of the *Silappathikaram.*[12] History or legend can show no more striking example of the virtuous wife of this description than Kannagi, the heroine of the *Silappathikaram.*

Kannagi, it will be noted, is a loving wife who in turn is dearly loved by her husband. She is praised by all, but specially by her husband, for her unsurpassed beauty and good qualities. In fact, some of the most rapturous words of love and admiration ever sung in verse are those which Kovalan is said to have addressed to Kannagi in the *Silappathikaram.*[13] Such a wife is abandoned and made to suffer cruel agony for a long, long time. Another woman in her place would have felt bitter towards such a husband and renounced him for life. Not so Kannagi. She utters no word of reproach, nor would she suffer it to be uttered in her hearing. It is not philosophic resignation nor historical indifference, that is at the bottom of this attitude. It is her "Karpu", her sense of wifely duty, that makes her so patient, so forbearing and uncomplaining, although her heart is sore and although she keenly feels her disability, through her husband's separation, to perform her duties as a housewife.[14]

When after months of the most callous desertion her husband comes back to her, she greets him with a smile,[15] with scarce a sign of anger or even displeasure in her face. When he accosts her saying that he is ashamed to have rendered himself penniless through squandering away his wealth on a false courtesan, thinking that his regret was due to his inability to pay Madhavi further, she offers him her anklet so that he may turn it into money and pay her

12 "உரைசால்பத்தினிக் குயர்ந்தோரேத்தலும்"—பதிகம், வரி 56.

13 மனையறம்படுத்த காதை—வரி, 73-80.

14 கொலைக்களக் காதை—வரி, 71-3.

15 கனாத்திறமுரைத்த காதை—வரி, 73.

off. Such is Kannagi doing her duty inexorably as the *Karpudai Mangai*, or the virtuous wife!

Kovalan accepts the anklet but not for paying Madhavi as Kannagi thought, but as a potential capital wherewith to start a new life in a new place where they are unknown. Accordingly he suggests their leaving Kaveri-pum-pattinam that very night to go on a long journey by foot to far-off Madurai in the Pandyan Kingdom. Like Sita of old, instantly, without a moment's hesitation, Kannagi sets out with her husband, thinking little of the fatigue, privation and danger which all too plainly confronted foot-travellers in those days. Sita's alacrity to accompany her husband and face all trials and tribulations is easily comprehended, for Rama, her husband, was a staunch lover—so staunch and steadfast, indeed, that he vowed when he married Sita never to touch another woman even in thought, and kept his vow! Besides he was a great hero, unequalled in valour and skill. But here is fish of another kettle—a husband who behaves in the most wicked and callous manner possible towards his loving wife, and yet she accompanies him most readily on an exceedingly arduous and vexatious journey, with the prospect at the end of it of no more than a precarious existence! Can anyone imagine a woman doing all this for such a husband? No, it is past belief except on the basis of "Karpu" animating her whole being. Kannagi herself says this in no uncertain terms. When Kovalan, after bitterly accusing himself for his past conduct, asks her how she brought herself to accompany him to Madurai so readily, she says, "It is true that you have sinned badly against me, but my life's rule is implicit obedience to my lord and husband, and hence my coming with you." [16] There is no doubt that the cardinal point in the conception of *Karpu* is this quality of forbearance—of putting up meekly with the grievous defects and blemishes of the husband. Says Kannagi in ஊர்சூழ்வரி

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16 *கொலைக்களக் காதை—வரி 81-2.*

when she hears of her husband's unjust death :—"Are there virtuous wives here who put up patiently and meekly with the grave shortcomings and lapses of their husbands ?"[17] Here, in a nutshell, is Kannagi's own test for the "Karpudai Pendir" or the virtuous wives.

In Madurai, as we know, Kovalan is slain on a false charge. The news reaches Kannagi's place of residence in hushed whispers, and the local people try to keep it back from her. She, however, grows suspicious and goes to the city in search of her husband. There she sees him lying dead. She is distracted with grief. She sheds bitter tears, and, embracing the blood-stained body of her husband, gives vent to the most doleful lamentation. With such terrible grief rending her heart nothing would have been easier for her, as the virtuous wife, than to end her life there and then. But she learns about the false accusation made against her husband and the cruel death which followed in its wake by the king's order. She is roused to fury. She bids the Sun, the world's eternal witness, come forward and declare whether her husband is a thief. She vows to have her husband's name cleared and his death avenged. To this end she would neither kill herself nor lead the conventional widow's life. Says she to herself : "Knowing that my husband is unjustly slain, am I to wear out my life as a widow, nursing my grief and spending my days in austerities, privations and pilgrimages ?"[18] And she decides that she will not.

From a meek, shrinking, soft-spoken, weak woman she is now transformed into an avenging fury. The very

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17 'கொண்ட கொழுநர் உறுகுறை தாங்குறூஉம்
பெண்டிரும் உண்டுகொல், பெண்டிரும் உண்டுகொல்'.

—ஊர்சூழ்வரி—வரி 53-4.

18 'துன்புறுவனநோற்று துயருறுமகளிரைப்போல்
மன்பதை அலர்தூற்ற மன்னவன் தவறிழைப்ப
அன்பனை இழந்தேன்யான் அவலங்கொண்டழிவலோ'.

—துன்பமாலை—வரி 35-7.

Karpu which made her so meek and gentle, so submissive and yielding, and so forgiving and uncomplaining hitherto, now when her husband is unjustly slain, makes her more ferocious, more implacable even than *Pidari,* or *Durgai,* or *Kali.* Her tear-stained face reflecting the unutterable agony and the terrible anger in her heart, her hair dishevelled and hanging loose, her clothes blood-stained and disorderly, she rushes to the palace, there to arraign and denounce the king in person. The guard at the gate is struck with dismay at seeing such an apparition. The bold, nay insulting, epithets she uses in addressing the king show the depth of her anger and her contempt for the ruler's might. Words, provocative and insulting, which she would never have dreamt of using previously, now flow from her lips as in a flood-torrent. The other classic example of *Karpu*—Sita also uses insulting language to her all-powerful tormentor, Ravana. But then, although she was a captive, helpless and forlorn, in the enemy's country, she could nevertheless afford to use such language, as she knew that her all-conquering hero, Rama, would one day avenge her insult and humiliation. But Kannagi is a poor, helpless, unknown woman in an unknown country, and yet she dares to arraign the highest of that country in language that will stand comparison with Sita's for temerity and withering scorn.

When she accuses the king of unjustly killing Kovalan, he points out that to put a thief to death is no injustice.[19] Kannagi proves that her husband was no thief by showing that, while her anklet had rubies in it, that of the queen contained pearls. The shock is too great for the King and he dies on the spot. His queen, as behoves the virtuous wife, dies too. Kannagi, however, is not appeased. She is mightily angry, and rightly so, against the city where such false accusation and such horrible travesty of justice were possible. She vows: "If I am a virtuous daughter

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19 வழக்குரை காதை—வரி 64-5.

of that home of all virtuous women, Kaveri-pum-pattinam, I will not rest until I have destroyed Madurai along with its Kingship". And calling all men and women, and the gods and sages to witness, she declares, "I am terribly angry with Madurai that hath done my husband such *grievous wrong. I am not to blame for what I now do.*" So saying, she plucks out her left breast with her right hand, and after going round Madurai thrice, she flings it across the market place with the fierce imprecation that the entire City be burnt down to ashes. The Fire-God appears before her and asks her, before he starts the conflagration, to name those that should be spared death by fire. Kannagi names the Brahmins, the sages, the cows, the virtuous women, the aged and the children. The fire breaks out and destroys all except those named by Kannagi. What anger! What fierceness! What inflexible will! And what faith in the power of *Karpu!* To declare that she will destroy Madurai argues an implicit and unconquerable faith in the power of her *Karpu* to make the gods obey her will. And the story is that the gods did obey the virtuous wife!

Tamil literature calls this heroism of the virtuous wife *Marak-karpu* (heroic karpu) to distinguish it from the meek and submissive type which it designates *Arak-karpu* (Dharmic karpu). Kannagi is a classic example of both kinds of *Karpu.* As the meek, submissive, ever-patient wife of Kovalan she illustrated *Arak-karpu* in the earlier part of her life; and when her husband was unjustly done to death, she showed to the world to what heroic heights the same woman could rise and thus exemplified *Marak-karpu* also in her own person. This is the reason why, while there were ever so many examples in the land of virtuous wives laying down their lives for their deceased husbands, the Tamils chose Kannagi as பத்தினித்தெய்வம் or the deity of virtuous wifehood, and built temples for her all over the country. Her worship spread even to

Lanka where its King (Kaya Vahu) is said to have built her a temple.[20]

The ancient Tamils rated the virtuous female கற்புடைய மங்கை as high as a goddess. Nay, to them she was the only visible goddess. " We know no goddess other than the one here whose mantle is Karpu ",[21] says Kavunthi Adigal, a saintly Buddhist nun, speaking of Kannagi. It was their unshakeable faith and belief that if the virtuous woman ordered rain to come down, it would come down ; that her curse would take instantaneous effect ; that one angry look of hers was enough to reduce to ashes anyone daring to molest her ; that in the land where virtuous women lived there would be no draught, no barrenness of soil and no destruction of the King's victorious arms.[22]

To the virtuous woman her *Karpu* is not only her shield, but it is also her sword wherewith she could instantly annihilate anyone daring to make improper advances to her, or injure her husband. Kannagi is conscious of this power when she declares that she will destroy Madurai. Sita is conscious of this power when she tells Hanuman, in the Tamil version of *Ramayanam,* that, had Ravana dared to touch her, he would instantly have been reduced to ashes. So the cult of the invincibility of *Karpu* and its God-given power to destroy the offender was supreme in the Tamil land—implicitly believed in by men and women.

The reason for the apotheosis of *Karpu* is not far to seek. The standard set for *Karpu,* as we have seen, is well-nigh impossible for ordinary human beings to attain. Any

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20 உரைபெறுகட்டுரை—3.

21 " கற்புக்கடம்பூண்ட இத்தெய்வமல்லால்
பொற்புடைத் தெய்வம் யாம் காண்டிலமால் ".
அடைக்கலக்காதை—வரி 143-40.

22 அடைக்கலக்காதை—வரி 145-47.

woman coming up to this ideal must be near perfection and therefore of an order higher than the normal human beings. No wonder, then, that she was held in the highest esteem and awe, and looked upon as a goddess on earth.[23]

[23] Moreover, it may well be that a society which allowed a measure of self-indulgence and license to its menfolk, as ancient Tamil society seems to have done, was perhaps more likely, by contrast, to venerate and idealize feminine virtue than one in which self-restraint was practised as much by men as by women.

The Status of Tamil in Ceylon

A historical and comparative study of the bilingual problem

K. NESIAH

I

It was a fateful night, the 14th of June 1956, and the day was breaking when the Ceylon House of Representatives passed by sixty-six votes to twenty-nine the Sinhala Only Act which read: "The Sinhala language shall be the one official language of Ceylon". The sponsors of the bill were the new Government led by the Hon. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike and composed entirely of Sinhalese-speaking ministers. The vote of every Tamil-speaking member but one, fourteen in all, was cast against the unjust decree. The redeeming feature of the voting was that as many Sinhalese votes were cast against it and one Burgher vote as well.

The future historian who reads the relevant documents would be surprised at the inconsequential nature of State language policy. When the legislators first got interested in the problem it was at a time when the British Government had declared its willingness to concede full responsible Government in internal affairs provided the constitutional scheme had the approval of three quarters of the members of the State Council[1]. This condition probably explains the facility with which the Official Languages Resolution, favouring Sinhalese and Tamil as official languages on equal terms, was passed in May, 1944. A Select Committee worked out a programme to give effect to the

[1] Declaration of H.M. Government, 26 May 1943 (S.P. XVII—1943).

motion[2]. The key recommendation was that by 1957 all public servants should be able to transact business in both national languages: courses in both languages were to be provided in secondary schools to help to achieve this bilingualism in administration. A general election followed, but nothing was done till the eve of the next general election when an Official Languages Commission was appointed to consider ways and means of implementing the recommendations of the previous Committee. A year after the general election the Commission issued its Final Report containing "plans for the quickest possible adoption of such of the proposals of 1946 as are capable of facilitating the transition from English to Sinhalese and Tamil as the official languages of Ceylon without sacrificing the efficiency of the administration"[3]. Within a month of the submission of this report, in October 1953, another Commission, that on Higher Education in the National Languages was appointed, ultimately with the same Chairman who presided over the previous one. The report of this Commission consisted of a majority report, signed by the Chairman and the other three Sinhalese members, and a minority report signed by the three members who belonged to the minority communities.[4] In spite of a directive by the Governor-General to confine themselves to their terms of reference, the minority report questioned the wisdom of government's policy in underrating the place of English while the majority report questioned the wisdom of recognizing two official languages. The majority even went further and in the name of equality of opportunity asked for higher education provision "for at least six Sinhalese-speaking students to every Tamil-speaking student"[5]. They recommended that the Univer-

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[2] *Sinhalese and Tamil as Official Languages* (S.P. XXII—1946).

[3] *Final Report of the Official Languages Commission* (S. P. XXII—1953).

[4] *Final Report of the Commission on Higher Education in the National Languages* (S.P. X—1956).

[5] Incidentally, 6 : 1 is not the proportion of Sinhalese speakers to Tamil speakers in Ceylon. It is 7 : 3 according to S.P. XXII—1946.

sity of Ceylon now functioning in Peradeniya and Colombo should be converted into Sinhalese medium universities along with a new such university in Galle. They suggested that a separate Tamil medium university should be established in Batticaloa or Jaffna.

II

That these moves represent an attempt to use language to secure a temporary political advantage for one group rather than as an instrument of national creativity is evidenced by certain political moves during the same period. The Board of Ministers had put forward a constitutional scheme in September 1944[6], which became the basis of the Soulbury Constitution[7]. The main safeguards for the minorities consisted of a system of weightage in representation in the legislature and a restriction on legislative power. The advocates of the ministerial scheme represented to the Soulbury Commission that of the 95 elected seats, 58 would go to Sinhalese candidates and 37 to the minority candidates (Ceylon Tamils 15, Indian Tamils 14, Muslim 8), making, with six nominated seats, a minority representation of 43 in a House of 101. But when the Constitution was in working, by a series of acts of omission and commission it was possible to reverse the weightage. At the general election of 1956 so many as 74 seats went to the Sinhalese and only 19 to the minority candidates (Ceylon Tamils 12, Muslims 7, Indian Tamils Nil.) The other safeguard, section 29, which forbids discriminatory legislation and requires a two-thirds majority for amending the section, obviously depended on the above proportion being maintained with regard to the number of seats. But, the then government was able to find the necessary majority to waive section 29 and pass the discriminatory Indian and Pakistani (Parliamentary Representation) Act, 1954.

[6] *Reform of the Constitution* (S.P. XIV—1944).
[7] *Ceylon: Report of the Commission on Constitutional Reform* (H.M.S.O., 1945).

All that can be said in mitigation is that thinking in terms of one's community rather than in terms of the nation is by no means confined to the majority community. The Tamil revolt against these racial policies has in recent years taken the form of a demand for a federal state in Ceylon. So far all that the Federal leader, Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayagam, has been able to secure from Prime Minister Bandaranaike is the assurance that regional councils of the Northern and Eastern Provinces would use Tamil as their main official language and that Tamil would be recognized as the language of a national minority[8]. The inadequacy of this solution does not lie merely in the fact that nearly two-thirds of those who speak Tamil live outside these two provinces; it questions the very basis of a democratic nation — a common citizenship.

The fact of the matter is that in the past, as in India so in Ceylon, the fatherland has tended to be the community of the caste, creed or linguistic group mistaken for a race. But the firm hold of an ancient culture has, as pointed out by Radhakrishnan, prevented many political fatherlands breaking up the solidarity of India. A wonderful tolerance combined with the power of synthesis of different traditions has been the essence of that culture. Indeed through the ages India derived her unity and her individuality from her cultural outlook. To this cultural unity political strength was added by the intense struggle against British rule. The fortunate emergence of great leadership imbued with a lofty moral ideology helped her in the developing period to build an All-India mind and a secular democracy. It was fortunate for her that neither the Hindu revivalists nor the modern materialists have counted in the building of new India, else she might have retreated into medievalism or slipped into totalitarianism. In the event she is shaping into a great modern power without losing the moral grandeur of her native genius.

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8 This pact was recently declared "null and void" by S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, Prime Minister of Ceylon—*Editor.*

While it is true that Ceylon has also been touched by the Asian awakening, the political struggle here has been relatively lukewarm, the leadership sectional rather than national and the cultural movement more a revival of old forms rather than a renewal of spirit. From one point of view, the present is a conflict between those who think that it would have been an advantage if time had stopped before the advent of the West and those who would reject the past altogether. From another view, the language and racial controversies are at one and the same time a complete repudiation of our age-long ideals of toleration and co-existence as well as the realties of democratic nationhood.

III

The saving factor, however, is contained in Bismark's remark that statesmen cannot alter the currents of history ; they can only steer their little barks. It is true that in early times, when people were not firmly attached to the soil and were still migrating, transplanting, enslaving and shifting frontiers, they freely changed their speech. Language is therefore no clue to race anywhere. In this country there is evidence to support that some groups speaking Sinhalese may have been originally Tamil speakers and some Tamil-speaking groups of today may once have spoken Sinhalese. But with permanency of settlement, the establishment of law and order, the acquiring of literacy and the development of literature and printed books, people came to be wedded to what they regarded as their mother tongue and the thoughts, tradition and history enshrined in that tongue. It is no longer possible to make even small linguistic groups to change their language, not possible to stifle their speech in any way. Witness the persistence with which the few thousand Romansch speaking group in Switzerland have kept to their language and won official status for it.

Our statesmen would do well to hearken to the message of our own history. The bilingual state is the legacy of our history. Ours appears to have always been a bilingual society. The early inscriptions, place names and family names, the documents of the courts of Kotte and Kandy, the curriculum of the medieval pirivenas, the extensive list of common words in the vocabularies of Sinhalese and Tamil all point to the intermingling of the peoples and languages down the ages. During the century and half of the Portuguese sojourn in these coasts, through their schools and the mixing up of large numbers of Portuguese soldiers and civilians with the indigenous population, the Portuguese language became for a time the *lingua franca* of the coastal towns and even reached the independent court of Kandy, but all that is left of the language is a few hundred Portuguese words in the vocabularies of Sinhalese and Tamil. The Dutch language which the Hollanders brought into Ceylon for another century and a half held even less sway. On the other hand the introduction of the printing press by the Dutch in 1737, the casting of types in Sinhalese and Tamil and the writing of books in the local language by Catholic writers steeped in the learning of medieval Europe and by Protestant writers full of the culture of the Renaissance gave fresh impetus to the national languages.

It is, however, the English language, which came into Ceylon with British rule early in the nineteenth century that has had the most abiding influence, for it brought with it a well-developed civilization to confront our own. It came first as an 'usurper' (to use Gandhiji's phrase), with text-books, school curricula and examination schemes all 'made in England'. Not only did it seek to supplant the native languages, but the colonial elite which adopted it tended to separate themselves from the mass of their fellow-countrymen. The first effective criticism of the prevailing system came from Arunachalam who pointed out that by

overlooking their mother-tongue 'the few who have assimilated Western culture and whose mission it should be to interpret the West to the East are disqualified for the great office of writing a good Sinhalese and Tamil literature instinct with the best spirit of modern Europe'. With the political awakening of our time the respective roles of English and the national languages is getting reversed: English is gradually shedding its place as the first language of the few and becoming the second language of many.

No less far-reaching has been the political unification that has followed British rule. Helped by a common administration and a common citizenship and facilities, for travel and employment on an Island-wide basis, there has been social and territorial mobility on a gigantic scale. To add to this, the opening of the plantations and the bringing of labour from South India has resulted in the settlement in the hill country of a Tamil-speaking population who now constitute nearly one-eighth of the Island's population. We have now become irrevocably a multi-lingual, multi-religious society. Sinhalese is mother tongue to 69% of the Island's nine million population; Tamil is spoken by 29%, including the 12% who are of Indian origin. Though English has bestowed for over a century every political, economic and social advantage to those who knew it, it is understood only by 6% of the total population, English literacy being most pronounced in the City of Colombo. On the other hand, without any adventitious aid, the social and geographical interspersion of Sinhalese and Tamil account for 9% of the nation being bilingual in Sinhalese and Tamil, or in the urban areas 18%. Ceylon's modern towns too owe their existence to the impact of the West and the growth of a multi-lingual society is most reflected in the composition of the population of these towns. In several of them from a third to a half of the population is bilingual; Colombo is the supreme example.

The bigger English schools helped to make some sense out of this cosmopolitan society. They became compre-

hensive in their composition and drew their pupils from all sections and from all parts of the country. Even with the change over to the Swabasha medium some of these schools are taking pains to preserve their cosmopolitan character. The University of Ceylon likewise reflects the entire nation, its 2500 enrolment representing 60% Sinhalese-speaking, 36% Tamil-speaking, 4% English and other language-speaking homes. These institutions and their alumni represent the first group of people in this country who come closest to being described as Ceylonese rather than as Sinhalese or Tamils or Muslims or Burghers. That some of the noblest institutions of the past like the Totagamuwa Pirivena of Ceylon or the Nalanda University of India were cosmopolitan in their composition and catholic in their outlook puts our modern schools in line with our inheritance.

IV

Just as under conditions of British rule we became a multi-lingual society, under the new legal system we became equally irrevocably a free and equal society. Under the principle of the rule of law, the same law for all and all equal before the law, all persons, men and women, found themselves released from a casteistic social order and from the conception that the nation is a bundle of communities. It has not taken long for equality before the law to be followed by equality at the polls and some measure of economic and educational equality. In time all citizens will demand the right to equal participation in Government and an equal share in the benefits of administration. No citizen will agree to be treated differently from any other. That is democracy's ultimate safeguard.

That is not to say that the battle for democracy will be easily won. Accustomed methods of thinking die hard. Witness the thought of leading men, including a former Chief Justice, who said that the community of higher

learning should be a racial community and that the access to such learning should be rationed among members of different communities according to numbers. Similar proposals have been made in India. It is, however, refreshing to note that the Radhakrishnan Commission rejected the rationing of seats.[9] "The fundamental right is the right of the individual, not of the community. Every young man must have an equal chance with others, to make the most of his abilities". They opposed the assumption in "quotas" that the nation is composed of separate and self-sufficient groups as "a negation of the national ideal and democratic principle".

Equally untenable is the position when a political party composed of one racial group, seeks a mandate from that group, and seeks to establish a government by that group for the benefit primarily of that group. If rights do not belong to racial communities, there can be no more rights to racial majorities than to racial minorities. Referring to a similar situation in India, Asoka Mehta writes: "When a religious community, a language group, an occupation, a class, or a political party makes sovereign claims and reduces all other associations to the status of satellities democracy is destroyed".[10]

Politicians may not always be far-sighted, but the professional administrator is a stabilizing element in a democratic government. Himself selected on merit, his job is to ensure, as impartially as he can, equal rights to all citizens. Unlike the politician, the public servant belongs to 'all' not to 'some'. To be able to serve all alike, whether in the public offices, the courts of law, the transport services or the hospitals, he should be able to understand both Sinhalese and Tamil. You cannot run a modern administration on any other basis. That is why, even when English was the unquestioned official language,

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9 *Report of the University Education Commission*, 1949 (Govt. of India Press).

10 Article in *Times of India*.

the British administration found it necessary to require a working knowledge of both Sinhalese and Tamil of all higher officials.

V

It may be worth while examining the different linguistic situations in the modern world. They may be classified as follows :—

(A) Unilingual countries

(B) Multilingual countries, which may have either :
- One official language, or
- More than one official language, either :
  - A federal language and other regional languages, or
  - Bilingual states, which may be :
    - Unitary states, or
    - Federal states.

Often it is a language that has articulated a state of its own. There are quite a number of unilingual states in the world, Britain and France being good examples. Strength also accrues to these states because people come to believe that those who speak the same language are of the same racial stock and are different from other linguistic groups elsewhere. If the essence of nationhood is mental homogeneity then the possession of a common language-culture makes for the stability of unilingual states.

The second main category consists of the many multilingual nations of the world. These have not always successfully solved problems arising from language differences, but where they have solved them it has been a real achievement. The solutions have generally taken either of two forms, one official language, or more than one. Examples of the former range from Thailand where the Thai language is exclusively used in administration and in

schools to Malaya where though English, and now Malay, have special status some measure of cultural recognition is given to Chinese and Tamil. The U.S.A. also belongs to the group of countries which have but one official language. The fact that English is home language to nearly 90% of the population and that the remaining 10% originated from some twenty-five different nationalities gives a natural supremacy to the English language. Minorities are, however, not debarred from conducting their own schools without state aid.

But several multi-lingual countries have had to give official status to more than one language. Here again the solution has varied. Large countries with a number of languages, like India and the U.S.S.R., have adopted the most widely spoken language as the official inter-state language (Hindi in the case of India,* Russian in the case of the U.S.S.R.) and given official recognition as regional and national languages to the other major languages. The claims of these languages have also compelled India to adopt a linguistic re-distribution of the states. The position which English has acquired by historic circumstance in India and its value as an international language gives it a special place in higher education and as an additional federal language alongside of Hindi for many years to come.

Perhaps the happiest solution has been in countries which already possessing some degree of bilingualism decided to adopt bilingualism as national policy. Some of these are unitary states like Finland, Belgium and South Africa. Finland has followed a bold language policy. Finnish is spoken by 91% of its four million population ; the remaining 9% speak Swedish. Both languages are official

* The position is somewhat different. Under the Constitution, English will continue as the Official Language of the Indian Union till 1965, when alone Hindi can become a full fledged Official Language. Meantime there is already determined opposition to this constitutional provision on the ground that it discriminates in favour of Hindi and against the other Indian languages. This opposition can be met only by retaining English as the Official Language indefinitely i.e. by maintaining the *status quo*. —*Editor.*

languages. This is scrupulously extended to every sphere, including street names and the telephone directory. Both languages are taught at school from the earliest classes. But Finnish and Swedish are minor languages and so two major languages, English and German, are compulsory in the secondary school, making four languages obligatory for the matriculation examination. Federal states which have given equal status to two or more languages and built a single nation out of different elements are Switzerland and Canada. In Switzerland German-Swiss is spoken by 72%, French by 21% and Italian by 6%, but all are equal federal languages ; conventions about the composition of the executive government which have never been broken add to the strength of the Republic. Canada's French-Canadian minority of 30% live largely in Quebec Province. Both English and French are federal languages and official languages in Quebec. A member may speak in English or French in both parliaments and the speech from the throne is delivered in both English and French. Government publications, postage stamps and currency notes all carry the message of unity. There are also conventions about the composition of the government and the supreme court. Throughout Canada the study of both national languages is promoted in the secondary schools and universities. A striking example is the University of British Columbia with a Chair of French Canadian Literature in a province where French Canadians number but 3½%. This is the sort of provision which makes French Canadians look to Canada rather than to France for the development of their distinctive culture.[11]

VI

Three conclusions may be drawn from this study :—

(1) The steps taken by the Government of Ceylon during the past few years to promote Sinhalese

[11] For the constitutional provisions of Finland and Switzerland, 'Language Rights in Ceylon' by Xavier S. Thani Nayagam in *Tamil Culture* Vol. V. No. 3.

and Tamil as media of instruction in schools have been in the right direction. But till Tamil is given the status of an official language throughout Ceylon, education will lack the incentive that comes from using in school the language of administration and civic life. But more than education will suffer. Since the status of a language is the symbol of a people's freedom, equal standing and honour, Tamil-speaking Ceylon will harbour the resentment of being treated as inferior. But state recognition is not all. Not till the people, whether Tamil-speaking or Sinhalese-speaking, get a burning conviction that their future in civilization is bound up with creations in their own tongue and 'what they have inherited from their fathers they must earn anew if they woulds't possess it', not till then, would they succeed in the strenuous task of turning their ancient languages to the uses of today. To use language as an instrument of domination or conflict is to postpone its use as an instrument of civilization. To want to curb the full flowering of either Sinhalese or Tamil is to deny to Sri Lanka the full expression of her variegated personality. Nor will Subramania Bharati's patriotic poems of India answer to the needs of the Tamils of Ceylon: Ilam's own poets must sing Ilam's praise whether in Tamil or Sinhalese.

(2) A positive nationalism will promote the study of each other's language and culture as an indispensable means of welding a multi-group society into a strong nation. Each language-culture must be the prized possession of both groups, the two traditions regarded as complementary to each other. National bilingualism must become a conviction, rather than a concession. To this end, as many institutions of learning should be consciously planned so as to provide opportunities of learning each other through each other's language and each other's language through each other.

(3) If it takes two languages to make a nation, it takes more than two to make a great nation. A little

while before his death Mahatma Gandhi wrote in the *Harijan* with characteristic insight :

> My plea is for banishing English as a cultural usurper as we successfully banished the political rule of the English usurper. The rich English language will ever retain its natural place as the international speech of commerce and diplomacy .... As it contains some of the richest treasures of thought and literature, I would certainly encourage its careful study among those who have linguistic talents and expect them to translate those treasures for the nation in its vernaculars.

It is neither likely nor desirable that an English-speaking elite should be reared in the future, nor on the other hand is universal English possible even if it is desirable. Some 80% of the population, chiefly in the rural areas, are not likely to profit by a study of English and should be content to be indirectly influenced by books and men who have received the inspiration of English (and other foreign languages). For about 18%, who have completed secondary education, English will serve as 'an instrument of communication'. It is for the remaining 2% that English will be a 'creative medium.'—"Not that we shall produce poets and writers who will contribute to English letters, but we should not despair of having scholars, and writers who can attempt creative writing in English in their chosen fields and statesmen and leaders of thought who can make a significant contribution in world assemblies. But the most abiding contribution of the nation's thinkers will have to be in the people's own language. Those who cannot speak in Swabasha will not be heard ; those who do not know English will have little to say."[12]

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[12] "The Place of English" in Humayun Kabir: *Education in New India.*

Reviews

THE KONGU COUNTRY

By DR. M. AROKIASWAMI

Reader in Indian History and Archaeology, University of Madras.

Madras University Historical Series, No. 22, *pp.* VII, 420—*Rs.* 15.

The Tamil country has from time immemorial been regarded as composed of three kingdoms : Chera, Chola and Pandya. Dr. Arokiaswami stakes out in this book a claim for a fourth region, the Kongu country. If the boundaries of the old triune division are indeterminate, the boundaries of Kongu are still more so. The Kongu country waxes and wanes within the covers of this book.

So much for the Geography. Of history the author has assembled together all the literary and epigraphical references concerning the area he has defined as Kongu. The survey begins with prehistoric lists and ends with the Mysore wars. That means that till about the 8th century we are moving in a world of conjecture. The literature that is put under contribution defies chronological arrangement ; it is unsafe to build on phonetic similarities. So we move through a world of ghosts — the Satyaputra, the Kosas, the Kongus, the Kalabhras. Mere reinterpretation of well-worn materials will not give us a satisfactory history of South India.

We emerge out of this twilight with the Rattas. Then come the Gangas and the sequence of South Indian empires that we know well. The author gives some attention to social and economic factors. He brings up the narra-

tive to recent times. The book has the merit of bringing together all the historical material referring to a fairly well-defined region of the Tamil country. That region has always been the meeting, if not fighting, ground between the Tamils on the one hand and to the west and the north, the Chera and Karnataka countries respectively. All the peculiar features of the region, such as they are, derive from this geographical fact that it is the valley of the Cauvery leading up to the Ghats on the north and the west. Within his self-imposed limits the author has done well.

F. M.

AN APPRECIATION OF OUR JOURNAL, *TAMIL CULTURE*

EXTRACT OF LETTER OF DR. ROBERT SKELTON,
Dept. of Foreign Languages, Alabama Polytechnic Institute,
Auburn, Alabama.

"I find your publication highly interesting and appreciate the fact that it appears in a language I know. One can be interested in a language, a people and its culture even tho' he possesses no competence in Tamil.

Sincerely yours,
ROBERT SKELTON."

News and Notes

THIRUKKURAL TEST AT 40 CENTRES

The All-Ceylon Thirukkural Test organised by the Thamil Marai-k-Kalagam was held this year, at 40 centres throughout Ceylon on March 8th. Nearly 3,000 candidates sent in applications.

Four gold medals and twelve silver medals are offered by the Kalagam for those who obtain the first four places in each grade. (There are four grades). There are also many consolation prizes of books.

The prizes and certificates will be distributed at the sixth annual Thirukkural Conference of the Thamil Marai-k-Kalagam to be held in Batticaloa on June 1st in connexion with Thiruvalluvar Day celebrations.

—*Times of Ceylon.*

THE DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES

Need for Research Stressed

MADRAS, Feb. 7.

The 31-year-old Czech scholar in Tamil, Dr. Kamil Zvelebil, said here last evening that Indologists not only of his country but all over the world felt that there was a "special neglect" of the study of Dravidian languages, literature and culture, which was certainly a "very bad situation." He stressed the need for taking up right now research into the Dravidian languages and their literature, which, to Indologists "seemed" to have played an "enormous part" in the evolution of Indian culture.

The Czech scholar, who has now stayed for about ten days in the City in connection with his study of the Tamil language, literature and culture, said that he had not been alone in this venture and mentioned the names of scholars in Holland, France and other European countries, who "have been working in the field of Tamil literature." "We have seen", Dr. Zvelebil went on to say, "that even the language of Rig Veda, the most ancient document of Sanskrit, has been influenced profoundly by the Dravidian languages. This is not theory. This is a fact." "So I feel that it is high time to start studying the Dravidian languages," the Czech scholar stated.

Dr. Zvelebil, who was speaking at a reception accorded to him by the Tamil Writers' Association, at the Mahajana Sabha Hall, Mount Road, said that there was a proposal to take a young Tamil scholar or a post-graduate student to Prague as a Lecturer in Tamil, and at the same time, help him in the Orient Institute in his country to analyse some of the *Sangam* texts. He expressed the hope that they would be able to find someone who would help them in Prague for at least two or three years.

"SILLAPPADHIKARAM"

The large gathering of Tamil writers heard with rapt attention the young foreigner read his prepared speech in Tamil as clearly as any one of them. Dr. Zvelebil said that since 1949—when he was 22 years—he had begun to learn the Dravidian languages, especially Tamil. He and his colleagues were doing research in the Dravidian languages and their literatures and studying the civilization obtaining in the Dravidian countries. In leisure hours, they were trying to write articles in Tamil in the magazine they were publishing and were also bringing out books in Tamil. The speaker said that since last year he had taken up the translation of *Silappadhikaram*, which he hoped to complete next year. He expressed a wish to translate the *Nadodi* compositions also and write a book on India's civi-

lization and culture for the benefit of his countrymen. He ended up reciting the verse in Tamil: "Vazhga nirandharam, vazhga Tamizh mozhi, vazhiya vazhiyave."

Asked if there was any similarity between the Tamil and Czech languages, Dr. Zvelebil said that they were absolutely different. Tamil belonged to the Dravidian family of languages and the Czech to the Slav family of languages, he explained. There was perhaps a relationship between Finnish and Hungarian languages on the one side and Tamil on the other. This was only a theory, but it was well-founded, he said.

Mr. V. Swaminatha Sarma, President of the Association, who was in the chair, said that though Dr. Zvelebil had come here for the first time, as one interested in and doing research in Tamil, he (Dr. Zvelebil), was not new to them. If, in a country, where Tamil was not spoken and taught, he had made such a great study of this language and its literature, it only showed the great interest he had for Tamil. Dr. Zvelebil was a scholar in Tamil, English, Czech and Sanskrit and was doing research in Malayalam, Telugu, Greek and Latin. His translation of the Tamil novel, "Panchum Pasiyum", proved popular in Czechoslovakia, where 30,400 copies were sold. Many other books, which he had translated, were also sold in thousands, Mr. Sarma said.

Mr. Kodumudi Rajagopalan, General Secretary, who, earlier welcomed the gathering, in proposing a vote of thanks, assured the Czech scholar that every assistance would be extended to him during his stay in this country to pursue his studies.

—*The Hindu*

PRE-HARAPPA CULTURE

KARACHI, Feb. 26.

Remnants of a pre-historic civilisation, believed to be more ancient than the Indus Valley Civilisation, are reported to have been found by Dr. F. A. Khan, Superintendent of the Exploration Department of Pakistan Archaeology in Kot Diji, a site 15 miles south of Kahripur town in West Pakistan.

Mr. Khan told a Press conference here today that these finds "may antedate the well-developed Harappa phases dated 2300 B.C. by as much as 200 years".

There were indications, he said, that authors of pottery found in Kot Diji were forerunners of the Harappans in many respects. Though different in form and technique their ceramic products are in no way less artistic than the highly sophisticated black and hard pottery of the Harappans.

—*The Hindu*

VAISHNAVITE TEACHINGS

MADRAS, March 2.

Five publications in English—four on the life and works of Vaishnavite Acharyas and the fifth on Kamban — brought out by the Triplicane Tamil Sangam were released to the public at a function held this morning at the Ahobila Mutt, Triplicane, under the presidentship of Mr. S. T. Srinivasagopalachariar.

The booklets written by Mr. P. R. Tirumalai Iyengar, are entitled: "Life and Works of Sri Manavala Maha Muni", "Life and Works of Sri Vedanta Desika", "Tiruchchinnamalai of Sri Vedanta Desika", "The Chatussloki of Alavandar" and "Kamban, the Prince among Tamil Poets."

Mr. T. S. Parthasarathy, President of the Sangham, explained that the Sangham was bringing out books in English so that the great works in Tamil could be popularised among the English-reading public.

—*The Hindu*

PALLAVA GRANTS

Evidence of Copper Plates

MADRAS, March 1.

The description of a set of copper plates, perhaps the earliest and the only copper-plate record, registering a grant to the Jainas by the Pallava monarchs either in the Tamil country or in the Telugu area under their rule, was given by Mr. T. N. Subramaniam, Epigraphist, at a meeting held under the auspices of the Archaelogical Society of India at Government Museum, Egmore, last evening.

Mr. Subramaniam said that the set of copper plate grant was unearthed a few years ago at Pallan Koil, a village about four miles from Tiruthuraipundi in Tanjore District. Along with this was also obtained another set consisting of seven odd sheets of a different grant. The sheets of the latter set written in the Tamil script of about the eleventh century A.D. contained only the details of the boundaries of the land gifted on *pallichandam*, that is, endowment to a temple of the Jaina or the Buddhist faith. This latter grant, had it been recovered in full, would have been a much bigger set registering the gift by a monarch of the Imperial Cholas of Tanjore. The copper plates were now in the possession of Mr. S. Rajam of Messrs. Murray and Co.

The copper grant consisted of five sheets of copper strung in a ring of the same metal, and passing through a hole on the left side of the plates in the middle. The ends of the ring were soldered at the bottom of a circular seal,

having the emblem of a couchant bull facing the proper right. There were also a few other symbols which could not be made out due to the corroded condition of the seal. One line of writing mentioning the name of Simhavarman, in whose reign the grant was issued, ran round those figures near the edge. The outer faces of the first and last plates of the set were left blank, while the three middle plates, were written on both the sides. Thus the inscription contained eight pages of writing, beginning on the inner side of the first plate and ending with the inner side of the last plate. Each side contained eight lines, the whole set thus having a total of 64 lines. The first sheet was found broken into two, the left half remaining with the set strung in the ring through the hole and the right half had been entirely lost. Thus, only the beginning of the first eight lines were available.

As was usual with the copper plate grants of the Pallavas and the Cholas found in the Tamil country, the record consisted of two parts, the first one in Samskrit composed in verses running for eighteen lines written in the Grantha script, and the second, consisting of forty-six lines in Tamil prose and each part was complete in itself, though complementary to one another. The immediate object of the grant was to register the gift of a village and other property to the temple of Vardhamana at Paruthikkunru, placed in the hands of the Jaina preceptor, Vajra Nandi of the Nandi Samgha, to meet the expenses of worship.

After describing the inscriptions, the speaker said that the grant was made in the sixth year of the reign of Simhavarman, in the third quarter of the Sixth Century A.D. The military exploits of Simha Vishnu, his son, were described in the inscriptions. Simha Vishnu was the father of Mahendra Varman I, the excavator of rock-cut temples in the Tamil country.

—The Hindu

VALLATHOL, THE EMINENT POET OF KERALA

MADRAS, March 13.

The passing away of Vallathol Narayana Menon removes from the field of Malayalam literature a towering personality which had profoundly influenced his countrymen for about six decades. He emerged into prominence in the early years of this century and was hailed as one of the trinity of modern Malayalam literature. The others, Kumaran Asan and Ullur S. Parameswara Aiyar, predeceased him.

Narayana Menon was born in 1879 in a village near Tirur in Ponnani taluk of Malabar. Vallathol, the name by which he was popularly known, was the name of his *tarawad*. He took to Sanskrit studies early in life, and when he was still 20 attained proficiency in *Kavya, Nataka* and *Alankara*. He started writing poetry while yet a student, and some of his early works attracted the attention of men of letters, who, without hesitation, forecast a promising literary career for him.

The literary genius of Vallathol received quick public recognition. He was acclaimed a "Mahakavi" by fellow-writers. The Maharaja of Cochin conferred on him the title of "Kavi Sarvabhauman", and the erstwhile Cochin Government ordered the payment of a monthly allowance of Rs. 15 to him. The Maharaja of Travancore State honoured the poet by presenting him with a *Veerasringala.* The Samastha Kerala Sahitya Parishad, the organisation of men of letters of Kerala, elected him as President.

The composite Madras Government created Vallathol Narayana Menon the Poet-Laureate for Malayalam, when they introduced the institution of Poet-laureates.

In 1954 the President conferred the title of Padma Vibhushan on him.

Vallathol has immortalised his name by his renderings into Malayalam verse of classical works like the Ramayana and the *Rig Veda* and his original works such as *Magdalana Mariyam* (Mary of Magdalene), *Sishyanum Makanum* (Disciple and Son), *Achchanum Makalum* (Father and daughter), *Ganapati, Bandhanastanaya Anirudhan,* (Captive Anirudhan) and *Kochu Sita.*

The poet lost his hearing in 1912. He later wrote a poem entitled *Badhira vilapam* (Lament of a deaf man).

The poet came under the influence of Mahatma Gandhi when the latter launched the civil disobedience movement. He vigorously championed the national cause through the poetic medium. He wrote incessantly exhorting the people to join the non-violent struggle. He wrote an eloquent appeal for boycotting foreign goods. Another fine poem written by him about that period is *My Master*—a poetic tribute to the Father of the Nation.

After the attainment of independence the poet took an active interest in the "peace campaign" launched by the World Peace Congress. He attended the Peace Congress session in Warsaw and was elected to its presidium. The Congress gave him a great ovation when he read a Malayalam poem calling for peace which he had specially written for the occasion.

Vallathol had travelled widely. He undertook an extensive tour of North India as early as in 1929. He visited Malaya and Burma later to raise funds for the Kerala Kalamandalam. He toured the Soviet Union and Europe in 1950 as a member of a cultural delegation sponsored by the Government of India. In 1953 he undertook a tour of China with Kathakali troupe.

Vallathol was keenly interested in the advancement of Arts. He found that the art of Kathakali had fallen into

evil days and decided to work for its revival. With that end in view he organised the Kerala Kalamandalam at Cheruthuruthi near Shoranur which he had made his home, over a quarter of a century ago.

The work done by the Kalamandalam for the uplift of Kathakali is well-known. Practically all the leading Kathakali artistes of to-day were at one time or other students of this institution. The poet carried on the work of the institution against heavy odds. Over a year ago, Prime Minister Nehru made a handsome donation for the maintenance of the Kalamandalam. Later, the Kerala Government took over the institution to be run as a State academy for arts, and appointed the poet himself as its Director.

Poet Vallathol was a rebel against conventions. He made many innovations in Malayalam Poetry. The most important of them was the change of metre from *slokas* to Dravidian metre, which has now become very popular in Malayalam.

—*The Hindu*

Official Language of the Indian Union

"HINDI WILL CREATE SPLIT"—C. R.

CALL TO FIGHT "INJUSTICE"

CALCUTTA, Mar. 8.

Ten thousand Bengalis filling every available inch in the Calcutta University Institute and squatting all along the streets in College Square cheered their first State Governor after Independence, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, as he called on the people to fight to the end "the injustice of discrimination in favour of Hindi."

"If you yield to fear and pressure, you lose the battle," he warned, addressing the inaugural session of the All-India Language Conference, presided over by the Indian jurist, Dr. Radha Binod Pal, and addressed among others, by Master Tara Singh and Mr. Frank Anthony.

"We must fight our case, even if we are helplessly defeated. We will not be dead, we will still fight. We have no passion against Hindi. But we can never agree to Hindi-speaking people becoming the concrete heroes of India. It is unfair to impose the mother-tongue of 42 per cent of the total people on the other 58 per cent," Mr. Rajagopalachari said.

"Dr. Sampurnanand and Sri Sri Krishna Sinha have failed to introduce Hindi as the State language in their own States. And they want Hindi to be the official language in bigger areas. It is time the Hindi fanatics concentrate on their own States. When they succeed, let them come to West Bengal or Madras".

"We must make the Union official language a secular thing, not a fanatical thing". Rajaji said, pleading for maintenance of the *status quo* in India's linguistic set-up with English as the official language.

PAINTED UNITY.

> "The Hindi flag will create disintegration and disunity all over India, if not at once, in the very near future. The unity claimed for Hindi is painted unity. Despite the existence of different linguistic groups in Madras and Hyderabad there was all along unity and synthesis. Hindi is now planting seeds of disunity for the first time."

Mr. Rajagopalachari referred to the complaints often repeated against him that he was aligning himself with undesirable political elements to win his battle against Hindi imperialism. "I do not accept the political policy of any party other than the Congress. I can say with all the emphasis I can command that language is not a political question."

"In 1947 we had the right to give up English. Why did we not do it ? Has it failed us ? Has it created any disunity ? It produced no disunity, no corruption ; other things did. It is ungrateful to turn English into a foreign language. We have become so agreeable to it. The Russians may send their Sputniks highest, but they can never produce a language as great as the English language " said Mr. Rajagopalachari, continuing his defence of English as the most appropriate official language for India.

Addressing the conference, Mr. Frank Anthony said he was against the use of the word 'Hindi', and expressed his fears that it would be seized upon as a vehicle for communalism and language chauvinism. The last seven or eight years had seen his worst fear materialise. "The new Hindi, as it continues to develop, is not a language but a

language burlesque. Self-styled Hindi lexicographers and self-appointed Hindi purists have been busy competing with one another in evolving all manners of fantastic and unfamiliar words and phrases," he said.

"But worse than the stilted, unreal character of the new Hindi is the fact that it has become increasingly the symbol of all that is reactionary and retrograde in the country. The new Hindi today is the symbol of communalism, it is the symbol of religion, it is the symbol of language chauvinism, and worst of all, it is the symbol of oppression of the minority languages," Mr. Anthony added.

In his presidential address Dr. Radha Binod Pal said: "The Congress Government, it seems, is displaying in its linguistic policy a characteristic authoritarianism. The proposed linguistic regimentation of the Indian people would indeed be unique in history. It is indeed a tragedy that the traditional articulations of the social structure of people which have gradually and naturally developed through the ages should be so confounded. Our attachment to the Congress has long been almost inextricably identified with a picture of man endowed with sufficient wisdom and selflessness to endure power and to use it infallibly for the general good. It must, however, be confessed now that the optimism seems to have given us a soft and shallow conception of human nature."

The P.T.I. adds: Mr. Rajagopalachari told the conference: "Hindi is as much foreign to the non-Hindi-speaking people as English to the protagonists of Hindi. If, therefore, Hindi is pushed to a position to which it did not aspire, it will create disunity. We should take a lesson from what is happening in the Punjab."

It was bad, Mr. Rajagopalachari said, to raise slogans like "English is a foreign language." He said it might be of foreign origin but "we are encouraging many things of foreign origin like foreign aid,

commonwealth, legislative procedure and our political and democratic institutions. English has served us well during all these years. It did not create any trouble in the country as Hindi is creating today. It is one of the finest languages of the world. If we want to acquire modern knowledge we must not give up English," he said.

One of the reasons for the anti-Hindi feeling in the South, Mr. Rajagopalachari said, was the talk of English as a foreign language. If Hindi protagonists had not referred to English as a foreign language, possibly the opposition to Hindi in the South would have been less, he said.

It was emphasised, Mr. Rajagopalachari said, that Hindi was essential for the unity of India, but what they actually found was that, instead of unity, this Hindi movement was producing disunity in the country. The same argument, he added, was put forward by the British rulers when the people of India launched their struggle for independence. They said there must be one religion and one language to form a nation and without national unity, they asked, how could freedom be granted ? Today, he said, India had attained freedom although she had many languages and many religions.

Rajaji referred to a recent speech of Prime Minister Nehru in which he had stated, without mentioning any name, that he (Mr. Nehru) wondered how some people could advocate continuance of English which was a foreign language.

Mr. Rajagopalachari said: "Obviously, he was referring to me. But I never advocated that English should be the national language of India. What I suggested was that English can be the official language at the top-level. That will create unity between the people of the States all over India."

Mr. Rajagopalachari said, if there were two languages in a State both could be the official languages. "Marathi and Gujerati are in one State—Bombay (God bless that one State) and both will have the official status. Similarly, in the Punjab Gurmukhi and Hindi had been agreed upon to be the official languages and I hope there will be no further trouble in that State on the issue. But it is a lesson for all of us. We should understand the danger of errors which we may commit in regard to language. Here Hindi is being made the Union official language in spite of the feelings all over the country, specially in non-Hindi speaking areas like Bengal and the southern States."

Mr. Rajagopalachari said: "If Hindi was imposed—I would not use the word 'imposed' (but I do not know what else they are doing) as our leaders do not like the word 'imposition'—they think we all agree to this. Today, whether we agree to this or not, they have their agencies in the various States and they all belong to one party and cannot escape the party discipline. If, therefore, Hindi is pushed like that we must look at what is happening in the Punjab. There is trouble in spite of the fact that the State Government had been a party to the agreement. I do not want to forecast but God alone knows what will happen if Hindi was pushed like that. We should all learn a lesson from the Punjab," he added.

Mr. Rajagopalachari said if unity was to be produced through the official language he did not understand its meaning. "Does it mean there is no unity in the country? Then we have to wind up our business. But so far as I know, the present unity is very good and I do not know why we should try to improve upon this unity. It may ultimately spoil the whole thing. We should have commonsense to see what is happening in the country. If the all-India official language is to be Hindi whether in 1965, 1970 or 1990, then of course preparations are necessary from even now and you all know the President himself is inte-

rested in doing all these. We should not, therefore, go to sleep but we should have to say that our consent is not there and we are seriously against it, not merely in principle or in the matter of time and in preparation, but in every respect.

> Pointing to a language map of India, Mr. Rajagopalachari asked the large audience if they were prepared to concede the demand of the Hindi-speaking people, forming 42 per cent of the total population of India. "No, no" came the quick reply.

He said if Hindi was accepted as the official language of India, the vast majority of the people would automatically be reduced to an inferior status.

There was some argument about Hindi language that it was inefficient. He thought this argument was irrelevant. "The main point is we are against any discrimination in favour of any regional language over other regional languages. Hindi may be a very good language and, if you want to progress in commerce and trade, if you want to do business with Hindi-speaking people, you have to talk to them in that language and we should all learn the language spoken in a large area to the best of our capacity but it should not be made the official language. We should be clear in our minds as to what we can concede and what we cannot. We are not dealing with enemies. We are dealing with our friends, with our own Governments and we should not be afraid of telling them what we feel about it," he said.

Rajaji said they could never allow Hindi-speaking people having greater advantage over others. They could not allow one regional language to be raised to a level to which other languages were not raised. "There were in India fourteen major languages. English was also there like the oceans and mountains in India's geography. How could one give it up?" he asked.

He said there were many persons inside that big organisation (Congress) even among the Hindi-speaking people, who did not like introduction of Hindi as the official language. But they dared not open their mouth about it. India was habituated to submit to compulsion and, if compulsion was applied, it might succeed, he said.

Hindi, he said, could not bring anything original. It could not bring modern knowledge. Before they could translate one book into Hindi a new book of knowledge in English might be before them. Since they had already acquired English, there was no point in giving it up, he said.

Mr. Rajagopalachari said the language issue produced disintegration. Madras was split up and so also Hyderabad. Even the strong Prime Minister who had the deepest conviction against disintegration, had to yield. He might not admit this, but it was there. That was why, he said recently that his policy on language was flexible.

Clear stand urged

Mr. Rajagopalachari asked the conference to take a clear stand on the issue. He said: "We have justice on our side and we should not give up the cause because it is not a personal fight. If we accept the position in which we are being driven into, we will be relegated to a position which will not be fair to us. Even if we are hopelessly defeated, we should not give it up. We must do the right thing and I am certain we will win."

Tara Singh's appeal

Master Tara Singh referred to the recent Hindi movement in the Punjab and said:

> "Let the Hindi-speaking brethren of ours think calmly and get rid of their prejudices. Of course, conquerors have always forced their language on the conquered. The Pathans and the Moghals forced Persian

upon us and the British, their own language, English. But the Hindi protagonists are not the conquerors and we are not the conquered."

The Sikh leader said in selecting a language for inter-State purposes, they should consider which language was the richest. The need for a world language for India was already being felt and English had every chance in this regard. " If, at any future time, however, it is found necessary to create a suitable inter-State language out of our present Indian languages, nobody can prevent us from doing so. But this can be done by the goodwill and support of all sections of our nation and at this moment every Indian language should have a fair chance of development and of enriching itself." Master Tara Singh added.

Dr. Naresh Chandra Sen Gupta, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcoming the delegates, said it would be wiser for them to wait to determine as to which Indian language would be suitable for carrying on national affairs.

—*Sunday Standard*, 9-3-1958.

ENGLISH AS UNION OFFICIAL LANGUAGE

Demand For Amendment Of Constitution

REMOVAL OF TIME-LIMIT URGED BY CONFERENCE

CALCUTTA, March 9.

The All-India Language Conference, sponsored by the Association for the Advancement of National Languages, wound up its two-day session by passing 12 resolutions the dominant theme of which was the amendment of the Constitution to enable retention of English as India's official lan-

guage without any time-limit and that Hindi was only a regional language, which could never be accepted as national language.

The resolution suggesting the amendment of the Constitution, which was moved by Mr. A. Subbiah, pointed out that by not fixing any time-limit for English as official language the right of future generations to take a decision on the matter would not be curtailed. He explained, however, that this did not mean that English should necessarily be carried on for ever as the Union official language. The question could be settled in course of time, according to the requirements of the situation.

In another resolution, the Conference said that the Gauhati resolution of the Congress made no advance on the present Constitutional position on the question. The Congress had merely reiterated the policy to raise Hindi to the position of official language of India whether at a near or distant date.

Grave injustice to Non-Hindi people

The Conference felt that English should continue to be the language for recruitment to the All-India Services as otherwise difficulties would arise and undesirable discrimination would result.

One resolution stated that any attempt to raise any regional language to the position of Union official language for carrying on Central Government's business and inter-State affairs would result in grave injustice and discontent among the people adversely affected. Another resolution warned that any attempt to replace English as Union language would result in the deterioration of the study of English at the Universities and schools and thus affect the flow of modern knowledge into India.

Concern was expressed at the situation in the Punjab where "the settlement reached regarding the State lan-

guage was sought to be disturbed and feelings were still strained." It was added that any attempt to give Hindi a position of pre-eminence in other parts of India might result in unpleasant consequences.

To treat Hindi as a national language, stated another resolution, would be unreal and instead of promoting the unity of the country as sought to be made out, it would lead a larger section of people of the country to feel that they had been relegated to an inferior position.

Speaking on this resolution, Mr. E. V. K. Sampath, M.P., said that in the name of unity the Hindi fanatics were really trying to impose uniformity and wanted to subjugate millions of people.

RAJAJI'S WARNING AGAINST DANGER

"We have no right to mortgage the future"

"I have come out of retirement to lead the movement against the imposition of Hindi as India's official language, because I realise that this error will affect the future of our country, especially our administration which will deteriorate and consequently create disunity," stated Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, winding up the two-day All-India Language Convention.

"Added to this was the fact that the present generation had no right to mortgage the future of the younger generation of our country," Rajaji said.

Mr. Rajagopalachari said he was handing over the leadership of the movement to Bengal but cautioned them against launching any movement of action. "It was imperative", he added, that "we should proceed calmly and cautiously". He was sure that the Prime Minister was not in the Hindi movement and he was essentially a man of peace bent on achieving modernisation and progress. If people approached the language problem calmly he was sure they would meet with success.

Prof. M. Rutnaswami, who presided in the unavoidable absence of Dr. Radha Binod Pal, President of the Convention in his concluding remarks, stressed that the Convention had dealt only with the question of official language and not of the national language which had to be settled by the people of India. He trusted that the Government of India would study the resolution of the Convention bearing this in mind.

Centre's alignment with Provincial Movement

Mr. Rajagopalachari uttered a stern warning to the Government of India against aligning with the movement for Hindi which was provincial in character and regretted that Parliament and the Government of India were being hustled into supporting this provincial movement. Expressing his surprise at the strange combination he said that the alignment would spell ruin to the Congress organization. He was not one of those who wanted to see the Congress lose its powers but repeated his earlier warning, that if this alignment was pushed ahead, the Congress was bound to be ruined. He wanted to draw a clear distinction between the movement for national medium and the movement for official language. In this context he warned the Government of India that they were committing a great wrong by giving a provincial movement the advantage of Parliamentary support. Calling for the removal of the date-line for introduction of Hindi, Rajaji emphasised that the fixing of a date-line was mortgaging of India's future which "we had no right to do." He pointed out that if a date-line was set even at 2,000 A.D. "we had to make preliminary preparations even from now on, which was again regulating the future which we had no right to do."

Rebutting the argument that Hindi was sought to be introduced to promote unity, Rajaji said that "unity" was not "uniformity" and the attempts of the Hindi enthusiasts to impose that language was born of a military

mentality to achieve uniformity by regulation. He declared that the very movement for supporting Hindi had given rise to a new stimulus to other regional languages in the country. He asserted that any movement for national medium should be propagated by those who did not speak the language as languages could be spread only with concurrence and not compulsion. He envisaged a time when one of the national languages would become the all-India language but then, he said, it would be used as a matter of duty and not pride. The attempt of the Government to feed the pride of a particular section of the people was not good and it was better to have a sense of humility, he added.

MESSAGES

Messages wishing the conference success, were received from among others, Dr. M. R. Jayakar, Dr. C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar, Sir Mirza Ismail, Dr. D. D. Karve, Sir Samuel Ranganadhan, General Cariappa and Prof. Anant Karnekar.

Sir Mirza Ismail, in his message, said :

It has been a great disappointment to many that the Congress failed to give the right lead to the country on the language question. There is a perceptible lack of courage and imagination in its latest resolution on the subject.

Two questions are in our minds—that of a *common* language and that of an *official* language. The former is naturally desired ; it is a tremendous advantage to a nation. Is there in India a language in which the people of quite different and most widely separated races and languages and at the same time, of varying levels of education, can easily communicate with each other ? It is obvious that Hindi can never serve this purpose. It is the language of a section of the people, albeit a large one, and is quite alien to the rest, the more because it is so highly Sanskritised. It is a worthy study for all, but cannot

be a means of universal communication. No one would suggest that Urdu, with its Persianised quality, could be a common language. It seems to me, however, that Hindustani might, in a considerable degree, meet this need. It is midway between Hindi and Urdu, is easily picked up, and is already understood and spoken by people of all classes nearly everywhere in India. This was Mahatma Gandhi's view. I am only reiterating it and trying to emphasise the soundness of his judgment in the light of recent happenings. The State might encourage the use of Hindustani and make it more and more popular. This could be done without any insistence or fixing any date and without inpinging on the other languages. The process would indeed be a natural one, a development of present familiarity, and the cinema will continue to be an effective agent.

But I doubt if anyone would seriously suggest that even Hindustani could be a common language in *education.* In schools, the regional language is, and always will be, the natural and necessary medium of teaching; but in high schools an adequate knowledge of English must be insisted upon, since pupils ought to be able to supplement their vernacular text books by the study of books in English. In College classes the medium of instruction, and of study, should, in my opinion, be English.

The next-best lecturing language would be the pupils' mother-tongue, and this has been adopted in some places, and is aimed at in some others. But this seems to me to be a wrong policy, since none of these languages is adequate, and since this system handicaps the pupils in the further study of English books which is essential for them, and since classes very frequently contain students of different mother-tongues. Hindi is completely unsuitable in places where it is not the mother-tongue.

What then of the *Official language*? (a) In the various States: It seems natural and right that in all subordinate

offices the regional language should be used ; this is particularly desirable in those that deal with revenue. But in the Secretariats and Departmental offices the language should be English. This has long been the successful practice in Mysore.

(b) At the Centre, English should continue to be the official language for external as well as internal purposes. I fear that the replacement of Hindi by English will demand a high price in provincialism and in the limitation of international contacts.

WARNING AGAINST NEGLECT OF ENGLISH

Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar in his message said, " the elimination or neglect of English from misplaced motives or prejudices or local patriotism will be a definite disservice to the cause of culture and higher education and research and further, will develop needless jealousies and antagonism between State and State. In saying this, however, I am not unaware of the great usefulness of a knowledge of Hindi nor do I subscribe to the misguided activities of separationist groups. "

The delegates to the conference included Mr. Premnath Bajaj, Dr. Ruthnaswami, Mr. A. Subbiah, Mr. Madhusudan Mahanty, Sardar Ganga Singh, Mr. E. V. K. Sampath, M.P., and Mr. V. P. Raman.

The languages represented were Tamil, Malayalam, Telugu, Oriya, Kanarese, Assamese, Maithili, Punjabi, Sindhi, Gujarati, Marathi and Bengali.

HINDI ENTHUSIASTS' ATTITUDE

FANATICISM SHOULD BE FOUGHT AGAINST

Speaking at a reception accorded to him by a representative gathering of South Indians in Calcutta, Mr. Rajagopalachari put forth a spirited defence for the retention of English as all-India language for official purposes and lashed out against the Hindi enthusiasts who were attempt-

ing to force Hindi on the non-Hindi-speaking people. He called upon the people to "stand up and fight".

Mr. C. S. Rangaswami presided.

A welcome address on behalf of the Tamil Manavar Manram was presented to Rajaji and representatives of various South Indian cultural organisations welcomed him.

Rajaji spoke in English for about an hour. The entire hall was packed to capacity.

Paying a high tribute to efficiency of the Indian administrative machinery, Mr. Rajagopalachari said that "ours was the best in Asia, second only to that of the United Kingdom." This administrative machinery of ours, he said, had contributed to the unity of the country. The Central Government's attempt to impose Hindi on everyone would disrupt this unity. He therefore, asked the people that if they wanted to preserve the unity of India at such a vital juncture they must "unhesitatingly and without any reserve" vote for the retention of English as the Union official language. He said all major Indian national languages could be adopted as State languages in the different areas so that there would be complete unanimity between the people and the Government in those areas, leaving the Central Government to transact business in English. This, he said, would not interfere with the growing democracy in the country.

"SPIRIT OF ISOLATIONISM"

Rajaji said it was time that people rallied together in the fight against "the spirit of isolationism" propagated by the Hindi protagonists who said that English was "foreign". Not realising their limitations the supporters of Hindi had led themselves to believe that Hindi could be made acceptable to everyone in the country and were shouting about Hindi. If this was continued, he warned them that the people in South India could shout with

double the vigour and force and categorically state that if English was foreign, then Hindi was also foreign to them.

Refuting the argument that adherence to English would mean subservience to a foreign language, Mr. Rajagopalachari reiterated that he was advocating the adoption of English because of the intrinsic value of that language and also due to the fact that the latest and modern scientific knowledge and advances were available in the English language. He said "Modern scientific knowledge was explosive and rapid advances have been achieved in various fields and we in India could keep abreast of them only by reading English books. We cannot read second-hand translations in Hindi, which is dangerous." He then advanced the argument that knowledge could only come from original works and one could not afford to commit mistakes in science and technology. Rajaji held that modern knowledge could be acquired through the medium of the language of the people who contributed to that knowledge. "There is no looseness about it and it was an accepted fact that modern scientific knowledge had grown with English."

Declaring that he was advocating the adoption of English as the most convenient vehicle for conveying their thoughts briefly and precisely, Rajaji said that the supporters of Hindi were trying to achieve the impossible. He observed that if one considered the whole matter calmly and with clarity of vision, they would realise the limitations of their language and correct the errors in the future.

UNWISE AMBITION

Rajaji pointed out that not realising this, the supporters of Hindi were trying their best to make Hindi the pre-eminent language in India which the educated and other sections of the people should speak. At least, this was the hope of the Hindi-speaking people, which was a wrong approach to the whole problem. He said that even Hindi-

speaking people who speak different dialects had conspired together to force Hindi on non-Hindi speaking people, an ambition which speakers of no other language entertained.

Continuing, Mr. Rajagopalachari said that the choice of English did not mean subordination to any foreign language. Through the medium of English, which was spoken by " a large number of people in India one could read of the latest advances in modern knowledge." Modern knowledge was moving so fast that we could not lose time in translations. " Every minute something or other was being invented or propagated and we have to keep ahead of them all by studying the latest literature on those subjects."

Concluding, Rajaji said that the national languages sould be adopted as State languages and it was merely the constitutional structure which governs all India through the medium of English. With different State languages to complete the link and identity between the people and Government in the States, the use of English as official Union language would not interfere with the democracy in India.

—*The Hindu,* 10-3-58.

"SINGLE NATIONAL LANGUAGE NOT ESSENTIAL"—ROY

TIME-LIMIT FOR HINDI UNNECESSARY

CALCUTTA, March 19.

Dr. B. C. Roy, Chief Minister of West Bengal, pleaded for re-thinking on the language issue and said: Pending this, no language should be forced upon any other linguistic area in the country.

Speaking on a non-official resolution on the subject in the State Assembly, Dr. Roy said that the framers of the

Constitution were obsessed with the idea that one language was necessary for the unity of India.

He did not think, he said, that the unity of a country was affected because of multiple languages. He cited the example of Russia and Canada where there were more than one language as national language. In Switzerland, Dr. Roy said, they had given the status of a national language to Romansch, which was the language of one per cent of the population there.

India, Dr. Roy said, was a polyglot country having variety of people with culture and tradition based on Aryan, Dravidian and Mongolian languages. In such a country, the question of having one national language only was a difficult problem. It was possible to have in a country like India more than one national language, he said.

> Referring to Hindi, Dr. Roy said even if it was to be accepted as the official language of the Union, this language should be adequately developed and until such time as it was done, the Parliament should by law provide for the continuance of English as the official language. There should not be any fixed time-limit in this regard.
>
> Dr. Roy said that the State Assembly should also enact a law so as to make Bengali the State Language.

Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh, leader of the Praja Socialist Party, said that it was a false cry to say that the unity of India would be jeopardised if one language was not made the national language of India. Unity of India, he said, would be disrupted by the forcible imposition of Hindi and Mr. Nehru's name would be recorded in history as the greatest disrupter of India's unity in this respect.

Five National Languages

> Dr. Ghosh suggested while the regional languages should be allowed to develop, there should be five

national languages in India, namely, Bengali, Tamil, Marathi, Gujerati and Hindi. Otherwise, he said, India would be disintegrated by this forcible imposition of a particular language on the people.

Dr. Ghosh characterised the imposition of Hindi as "domination of inferior intellect over the intellectuals," and said Hindi-speaking areas had not been able to produce a talented man either in the field of literature, science and art or in politics, over the past hundred years.

He said that the arrogance of the Hindi-speaking people resulted in alienation of non-Hindi-speaking people on this issue. He suggested tolerance on the part of Hindi speaking people and development of the Hindi language. Meanwhile there should not be any time limit about the continuance of English, although he said English could not be continued for all time to come.

Dr. Ghosh pleaded for introduction of Bengali as the State language and language for medium of instruction in primary, secondary and university stages of education in Bengal.

—*Indian Express*—21-3-58.

Transliteration of Tamil Phonemes* into English

VOWELS

அ	—	a	(as in among)
ஆ	—	a:	(„ calm)
இ	—	i	(„ sit)
ஈ	—	i:	(„ machine)
உ	—	u	(„ full)
ஊ	—	u:	(„ rule)
எ	—	e	(„ fed)
ஏ	—	e:	(„ able)
ஐ	—	ai	(„ aisle)
ஒ	—	o	(„ opinion)
ஓ	—	o:	(„ opium)
ஔ	—	au	(„ now)

CONSONANTS

				Hints re: articulation
Hard[1] (Plosive)	க	—	k	(as in king, angle, alhambra)
	ச	—	c	(„ church, angel, calcium)
	ட	—	t:	(„ card ?)....Retroflex - articulate with **blade** of tongue.
	த	—	th	(„ threat, this, thick)....dental.
	ப	—	p	(„ pipe, amber)
	ற	—	t	(„ atlas, sunday, arrears)..Retroflex-articulate with **tip** of tongue.
Soft (Nasal)	ங	—	ng	(„ sing)....velar n
	ஞ	—	nj	(„ angel)....palatal n
	ண	—	n:	(„ urn ?)....Retroflex n - articulate with **blade** of tongue.
	ந	—	nh	(„ anthem)....dental n
	ம	—	m	(„ mate)
	ன	—	n	(„ enter)....Retroflex n - articulate with **tip** of tongue.
Medium (non-nasal continuant)	ய	—	y	(„ yard)
	ர	—	r	(„ red)
	ல	—	l	(„ leave)....Alveolar l - articulate with **tip** of tongue.
	வ	—	v	(„ very)
	ழ	—	l-	(„ ?)....Retroflex l - articulate with **blade** of tongue.
	ள	—	l:	(„ hurl)....Alveolar l - articulate with **blade** of tongue.
Auxiliary[2] (ஆய்தம்)	ஃ	—	x	(„ ahead)

* The Tamil phonemes may for practical purposes be treated as having single allophones only, except in the case of the hard consonants which have four allophones each, as shown in note 1 on the reverse.

1. The Phonemes, classified as *hard,* have normally an *unaspirated unvoiced* value but acquire the following modified values if preceded by a consonant:—

   (a) a *slightly aspirated* unvoiced value, if preceded by a *plosive or hard consonant.*

   e.g., பக்கம் – is pronounced pakkham, not pakkam

   (b) an unaspirated but *voiced* value, if preceded by a *nasal or soft consonant* :—

   e.g., பங்கம் – is pronounced pangam, not pankam
   பஞ்சம் – „ panjam, not pancam,

   (c) a *fricative* value if preceded by a *non-nasal continuant or medium consonant or by the auxiliary consonant.*

   e.g., பல்கலை becomes palhalai not palkalai
   எஃகு „ ehhu not exku

NOTE.—In most present day dialects, the plosive assumes a fricative —sometimes a voiced—value after a vowel also, except in the case of t : which retains its normal unaspirated, unvoiced value even after a vowel.

2. The value of this *auxiliary* phoneme, which must *always* be followed by a hard consonant, was variable during the time of Tholkappiam; it acquired a phonetic value identical with that of the following hard consonant, vide 1 (c) above,

   e.g., எஃகு became ehhu

   Later its value became fixed as h, irrespective of the following consonant.

Note. (i) With a view to keep down transliteration to the minimum it is suggested that, in the case of Tamil words which are already in free use in English (e.g., Tamil = Thamil), or where it is unnecessary to indicate the exact pronunciation, accurate transliteration need not be resorted to. In the case of proper names etc., which occur more than once in the same article, the transliteration need be shown only once in brackets side by side with a free English adaptation, the latter alone being used subsequently, except of course in cases where such a procedure will lead to ambiguity,

e.g., வேங்கடம் = Vengadam (Ve : ngkat : am).

(ii) Reference may be made to *Tamil Culture,* Vol. IV, No. 1 (January 1955 issue) pp. 58-73 for fuller details.

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The Tentative Version of the Bible or "The Navalar Version"

RT. REV. SABAPATHY KULANDRAN.

The translation of the Bible into Tamil has a long history; but the version published by the Jaffna Auxiliary of the Bible Society in 1850 has an interest not merely to Christians but also to those interested in the Tamil language; for this version is closely associated with one of the greatest Tamil scholars of all time, Arumuga Navalar.

Without claiming any special credit for himself, the present writer may confess to having played some part in the rediscovery of the edition of 1850. The version of 1871, called the Bower Version or the Union Version has been the only version known to most Protestant Christians. The text of any sacred Scripture once accepted assumes a certain place in men's outlook, so that they seldom look behind it or inquire into the circumstances leading to it. Many Christians and Hindus, however, had heard a rumour that Navalar had been associated with the project of Bible translation and therefore imagined that it was with the Bower Version he had been associated. Only some knew that it was a different version he had helped to produce; but hardly anyone had actually seen the "Navalar Version" or knew its history.

In 1944 I was asked to give an address on the history of the Tamil Bible translation, about which at the time I knew nothing at all. When I came to know that the Jaffna edition was put out in 1850, I could scarcely believe my eyes when, on a visit to a cultured old gentleman, I discovered a large sized Bible on his shelves which had belonged to a relative of his. On looking into it and finding the text different from that of the Bower Version,

I realised I was indeed looking at the "Navalar Version" itself, which anybody who knew anything about these matters would have given a good deal to have seen. Since then the discovery in the archives of the American Ceylon Mission of "A Brief Narrative of the Operations of the Jaffna Auxiliary of the Bible Society", which gave a history of the 30 years of controversy between the Jaffna and the Madras Auxiliaries, furnished me with the background of the Version. Once one copy of a book is discovered, the discovery of others follows. I was therefore able to discover two more copies soon after. The background of this story would have gained immensely if I had been able to examine the two almyrahs full of records, minutes and memoranda bearing on the relationship of the two Societies, discovered by Dr. D. T. Niles recently at the Methodist Mission House, Jaffna. This I have not been able to do as yet.

Every attempt at translation involves a tension between the desire for faithfulness to the text in the original language and the desire to attain to correctness and purity of idiom in the language into which the book is being translated. In case of the translation of a sacred book the tension becomes all the more acute. In a sacred book not merely ideas but almost every word and phrase and every shade of meaning are matters of the utmost importance. Liberties, deviations and paraphrases for the sake of clarity, inoffensive in other kinds of translation, became heinous in regard to sacred Scriptures. So much is this case, that some religions frown upon all translations of their Scriptures. On the other hand, a translation, if it is to gain acceptance in the new language, must possess respectability of style and idiom. A Scripture couched in uncouth style, whatever be its sanctity in the original language can scarcely command sanctity in the new.

The more developed a language into which a Scripture is being rendered the greater will have to be the efforts

to arrive at a text that will keep the tension in poise, neither letting accuracy or faithfulness to the original suffer nor falling below standards of correct syntax and felicity of diction. The reason for an unflagging effort over a period of 250 years to arrive at a flawless text of the Bible in Tamil is therefore not hard to seek.

In many primitive languages the Bible has been the first book to be published. Quite often, therefore, the translators fix the script and determine the style of the language itself. The English language itself was sufficiently young for the translators of the Authorised Version of 1611 to have largely moulded the style of English prose. Though Tamil had hardly anything to boast of in the sphere of prose, the features of the language had long been fixed and its literature had become immemorial, when the Christian missionaries arrived. The labours of succeeding generations of men, whose many sided scholarship was not anything less than their religious zeal, were necessary to satisfy the conscience and literary sensitiveness of the Christian Church in an effort to arrive at a text that could be accepted without qualms.

The first edition of any part of the Bible in Tamil was published by Bartholomew Ziegenbalg, the famous German missionary, in 1715 at Tranquebar. Ziegenbalg is one of the greatest figures in the Christian missionary movement. He had a gift for languages amounting to genius. When he set foot in India at the age of 23 he had to study Danish to speak to the officers in Tranquebar, Portuguese to speak to the mixed population round the Danish settlement and Tamil to speak to the people of the land. But there were many other handicaps to face. There was no teacher who understood him, no dictionary and no simple grammar. He had to begin his Tamil studies, sitting on the ground among school children and tracing with them the characters of the alphabet. The Danish Governor and his officials were against his very presence in their midst and tried to thwart

his work in every possible way. Even his living conditions were made unbearable. Nevertheless he triumphed over all difficulties and in six years had finished his translation of the New Testament which owing to printing difficulties was published only four years later.

About his edition the Rev. J. M. S. Hooper, Secretary of the Bible Society of India for many years, and author of *Hymns of the Alvars,* says "it did not conform to the standards of classical Tamil nor was it mellifluous ; it bears plainly in its frequently almost phonetic spelling the traces of its origin in the familiar talk of the common man. But it was an intelligible and faithful translation." Father Beschi, the eminent Jesuit linguist, the author of தேம்பாவணி and many other important works ridiculed in withering language the colloquialism of the new version.

I give below some verses from Ziegenbalg's version and the corresponding ones from the Bower version of 1871. The script of Ziegenbalg has certain peculiarities all of which cannot be reproduced without a photostat. So to a certain extent the spelling is modernised, while some of the old features are retained. Note in particular some short vowels deputising for long ones.

St. Mathew 4:24

Ziegenbalg	*Bower*
அவருடைய கீததி சீரிய யெனகிற தெசததிலெஙகும பாமபிசசிருநதபடியினாலெ நொககககாடுகளை யனுபவிககிற பொகளையும பல பல விசாதிகளினாலெயும துனபஙகளினாலெயும கஷததிபபடடவாகளையும பிசாசு பிடிததிருநதவாகளையும பிசாசினாலெ வாதிககபபடடவாகளையும காலகை வழஙகாத வியாதிககாறறையும அவாணடையிலெ கூடடிககொணடு வநதாாகள வா இவாகளுககு ஆரொககியததைக கொடுததருளினா	அவருடைய கீர்த்தி சீரியா எங்கும் பிரசித்தமாயிற்று. அப்பொழுது பலவித வியாதிகளையும் வேதனைகளையும் அடைந்திருந்த சகல பிணியாளிகளையும் பிசாசு பிடித்தவர்களையும் சந்திர ரோகிகளையும், திமிர்வாதக்காரரையும் அவரிடத்தில் கொண்டு வந்தார்கள்; அவர்களைச் சொஸ்தமாக்கினார்.

ST. MATHEW 5 : 1

அவா செனஙகளைப பாதது கொ ணடிருககச செயதெ ஒரு பறுபத தன பெரில எறி பொனா வடடதத திலெ உளுககாநதிருநதபொது அவருடைய சீஷாகள வரணடை யிலெ செநது வநதாாகள	அவர் திரளான ஜனங்களைக் கண்டு மலையின்மேல் ஏறினார்; அவர் உட்கார்ந்தபொழுது அவ ருடைய சீஷர்கள் அவரிடத்தில் வந்தார்கள்.

CORINTHIANS 13 : 1

நான மனுஷருடைய பாஷை களையானாலும சமமனசுகளுடைய பாஷைகளையானாலும பெசினாலும யெனககு சினெகமிலலாதபொனால சததஙகுடுககிற பஞசலொகம பொலெயானாலும கீணின கிணி னெனகிற மணி பொலெயானாலு மிருககிறென	நான் மனுஷர் பாஷைகளையும் தூதர் பாஷைகளையும் பேசினாலும், அன்பு எனக்கிராவிட்டால், சத்த மிடுகிற வெண்கலம் போலவும், ஓசையிடுகிற கைத்தாளம் போல வும் இருப்பேன்.

Another Tranquebar missionary, called Schultz completed Ziegenbalg's translation of the Old Testament and published it in 1728. But Schultz version has no significance in the history of the Tamil Bible and is chiefly remembered for some curious and infelicitous renderings. Nor is the translation of the New Testament put out by the Dutch Government in Ceylon in 1759 an important contribution to the task of accurate translation. It does not belong to the main stream of the process of translation, and is noteworthy chiefly as coming from Ceylon, where it is recorded the majority of people at the time spoke Tamil.

The most substantial achievement for a long period in the field of Bible translation, still holding its own within a considerable circle of Christians in India, was that by Phillip Fabricius. Like Ziegenbalg and Schultz, Fabricius was a German who came out under the Tranquebar mission. He arrived in India in 1740 at the age of 27 and remained there for 51 years, never going home and never marrying. Fabricius was a saint whose lot was cast in troublous times; for this was a period when the French

and the English were struggling for supremacy and Haider Ali swept over the Carnatic plains, carrying fire and sword. Fabricius not merely had linguistic abilities but great literary sense and discretion. Up to date the Lutherans continue to use his version ; and the Bower version, which is the Authorised Version of Tamil Protestants, made it practically its basis, departing from it only under strong necessity. The revisers of 1871 have recorded that, particularly with regard to the Old Testament, they found Fabricius more faithful to the original text than the English Authorised Version. But Fabricius had all the conservatism of a German Biblical Scholar ; and his desire to maintain undeviating faithfulness to the Hebrew and Greek frequently led him into expressions that from a literary point can only be regarded as unfortunate.

Therefore, the Bible Society which came into being early in the 19th century and was independent of Governments and missionary organisations chose Rhenius, a German, who had taken up work under the Church Missionary Society to work on the version of Fabricius and purify its idiom. His New Testament came out in parts between 1827 and 1833. The style was limpid and clear ; but the correspondence to the original was not as strict as that of Fabricius.

There were now many versions and revisions of those versions in circulation ; but each seemed defective from some point of view and none therefore secured general approval. In Ceylon in the meantime owing to the " difference of languages and extreme difficulty of communication, and the almost complete dissimilarity in the population of the south of the Island and the north ", an Auxiliary of the Bible Society had been set up in Jaffna, independent of the one in Colombo. During the same year the Jaffna Committee wrote to the Madras Committee, suggesting that both should co-operate in preparing a uniform version. The next year Mr. P. Percival, one of the members of the

Jaffna Committee, visited Madras. The Madras Committee proposed that Jaffna should undertake the task of preparing such a version, but offered to give a fair opportunity for its circulation in India. Thus the Madras Committee left Jaffna to shoulder the work, reserving to itself the right to judge of its merits and approve or reject accordingly.

In spite of the readiness with which the assignment was offered, on two grounds there seem to have been misgivings about the ability of Jaffna to discharge the task satisfactorily. It was believed by some that the Tamil of Ceylon differed from that of South India. The committee in Jaffna replied : We are at a loss to conceive how the committee (in Madras) could make the assertions in the presence of the fact that all the works in South India and North Ceylon are the same ; all classics are from the same seats of Tamil literature on the continent ; we study the same books without an exception. Meeting the same objection some time later, the Jaffna Committee said that missionaries who had held such a notion when they were in India had given it up, when they paid a visit to Ceylon. It said " We grant that there may be some disparity in the vocal enunciation of several letters and even of some verbal terminations, but these are so trifling as not to merit a name ; they certainly do not appear in the written language." After pointing to a considerable bulk of Christian literature used in common in India and Ceylon, the Committee adds " The language is one ; and much more thoroughly than you are at present prepared to admit."

The other ground was the geographical smallness of Jaffna. On this score it was doubted whether there would be sufficient talent available in the Peninsula to discharge such a heavy responsibility. But small as the field was, Jaffna at the time had a tremendous fund of scholarship to draw from, both on the side of Western missionaries, as well as on that of Jaffna Tamils. Among the American

Missionaries were Levi Spaulding, whose scholarship commanded respect on both sides of the Palk Straits, H. R. Hoisington, well known for his translation of and commentary on *Sivagnāna Bōdham,* Samuel Hutchings, a good scholar in Hebrew, and Daniel Poor, the Principal of the far-famed Batticotta Seminary. The foundation of the Batticotta Seminary in 1823 with a view to giving collegiate education was a great event in the field of higher learning in the East. It may be remembered that the first two graduates of the Madras University went from the Batticotta Seminary. So that, on our own side also there were men of great learning both in English and Tamil. There was Arnold Sathasivampillai, whose *Galaxy of Tamil Poets* was a standard work on the subject ; Evarts Kanagasabaipillai, author of *Thiruvakupuranam,* Wyman Cathirvelpillai, author of தமிழ்ச் சொல் அகராதி, Muthukumaru Sithamparapillai, better known as William Nevins, author of the first work of Logic in Tamil (நியாய இலக்கணம்). Probably these and quite a few others among Tamils were constantly consulted. They are, however, not mentioned by name, as Western scholars of those days had a firm opinion that work of Eastern scholars could certainly be availed of, but that their names were scarcely worth mentioning. The record merely says that native pundits or assistants also helped.

But the person chosen to be chief translator was Peter Percival, an Englishman. He had arrived in North Ceylon in 1826 and in 1829 was able to write " I feel little difficulty in preaching in Tamil. I find equal liberty as well in my colloquial intercourse with the people. For this gift I cannot be too grateful to the Father of Lights." His English-Tamil Dictionary " is still perhaps the best available of its sort." He has been called the greatest Tamil Scholar ever produced by the Methodist Church. At the time of his becoming chief translator, Peter Percival was chairman of the North Ceylon District of the Methodist Church.

Percival's chief assistant in this enterprise was K. Arumugam, who later came to be called Arumuga Navalar. Navalar had been born in 1822 and had enrolled as a student in Percival's school at the age of 12. Percival was so impressed with the youngster's attainments that he made him a teacher at the age of 16. In this capacity he taught English in the lower classes and Tamil in the higher classes. His learning soon acquired legendary proportions. Besides the above two languages he also knew Sanskrit. There seems to have been hardly anything in Tamil which he had not read. His biographer records that he learnt in one year what others took 10 years to learn. He is said to have known the 32 "*Vithais*" and the 64 "*Kalais*", a knowledge of which entitles a person to be called a poet. His subsequent career, after leaving Percival's School in 1850 has put him among the greatest scholars of Tamil literature. who ever lived. Perhaps his labours in the field of Saivite religious revival are as responsible for his fame as his labours in the field of literary revival. So great has his prestige been in the world of Tamil scholarship, that publishers in Madras till recent times considered it a sufficient mark of the worth of a book that it had been looked over by the student of a student of Arumuga Navalar. C. W. Thamorampillai, himself a giant in the field of Tamil scholarship about 70 years ago and a colleague of Navalar, has said of him :

நல்லைநக ராறுமுக நாவலர் பிறந்திலரேற்
சொல்லுதமி ழெங்கே சுருதியெங்கே—யெல்லவரு
மேத்துபுரா ணாகமங்க ளெங்கேப்ர சங்கமெங்கே
யாத்தனறி வெங்கே யறை.

The Jaffna version had one important advantage over all previous Tamil versions. Those of Ziegenbalg, Schultz, Fabricius and Rhenius had all been produced by individual translators, whatever help they might have got from pundits and assistants. The Jaffna version was the first that was produced by a committee. While Percival was chief

translator, there was a committee of competent scholars laying down policy, guiding, supervising, making decisions about the translations of important words, correcting and reviewing each part in the light of the whole, and contributing their distinctive knowledge to the common pool. After the Tentative Version the preparation of every accredited Tamil Version has been in charge of a committee.

Right at the outset, a resolution of the Madras Auxiliary made in 1841 almost tied the Jaffna Committee hand and foot, by laying it down that the new translation should stick to the English Authorised Version of 1611. So great has been the part played by the Authorised Version, otherwise known as King James' version, (after King James I of England, in whose reign it was produced) in the life of the British nation, that to many its text is as inspired as the original. There is even a humorous story of an old lady who called it St. James' Version. The Madras Committee therefore ruled that the Tamil translation should retain "its (that of the Authorised Version) position of words, arrangements of sentences and punctuation in so far as the sense is or can be affected thereby; that when the sense of the English Version appears to have been designedly left doubtful, such doubts shall as far as possible be retained in the translation." The reason for this, said the Madras Auxiliary, was that it wanted a standard text that would be universally accepted. A strict observance of the rule laid down by the Madras Committee would of course have produced a piece of sheer linguistic barbarism. The Jaffna missionaries therefore, decided to undermine the authority of Madras by writing to the British and Foreign Bible Society in London and to various missionaries throughout South India. Almost every missionary appealed to agreed that such a resolution would make any translation quite impossible. The Jaffna missionaries also made the discovery that there were persons on the committee in Madras who had no knowledge of the Tamil language. As a result

of the agitation set afoot, the Madras Committee, on the proposal of Rev. Miron Winslow of Dictionary fame (who himself had laboured in Jaffna for a long time), modified its earlier resolution as follows :—

> That the translation be made from Greek and Hebrew originals and that as to the meaning of any particular passage the English version be made the standard of reference of highest authority, and that in no case should a deviation from the English version be allowed unless approved of by two-thirds of the committee.

The Society in London supported the stand taken by Jaffna and approved of the modified resolution of Madras.

With the approval of both Madras and the parent Society in London the version of Rhenius was made the basis of the new translation. Since as far as faithfulness to the original was concerned, the Jaffna Committee was going to translate from Hebrew and Greek, it was felt that they could start where Fabricius had started, and not be guided by him ; but since however they were striving to attain to a literary style acceptable to those who spoke Tamil, it was felt that the perspicacity and clarity of Rhenius were more worthy of being made the basis.

From the end of 1845 Mr. Percival relinquished all other work and devoted himself entirely to the work of translation. He devoted six hours every day to the regular work of translation with his "native assistants", in addition to the time occupied in miscellaneous references, the reading of the manuscript and general reading connected with the undertaking. There was a weekly meeting of the Revision Committee. As each book of Scripture was finished, copies were struck and sent out over a wide field for comment and criticism.

It was agreed, as the translation proceeded that the work of the Jaffna Committee was not to be final, and that a Revision Committee consisting of members both from Jaffna and from South India should sit on it, to secure a

standard version that would obtain currency on both sides of the Straits. For this reason it was decided to consider the Jaffna version a tentative one; and this is the name by which it has come to be known in the history of the Tamil Bible. Mr. Caldwell, author of *A Comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languages,* and one of the greatest scholars of the Tamil language who has ever lived, and himself a great contributor to a later version of the Bible and Mr. Sargent, also a very great Tamil scholar, both of whom were to become Bishops later, wrote to the Jaffna Committee highly commending the new version. But word had begun to reach Jaffna of the disfavour it was arousing on the continent.

On October 21st 1850 the committee finished its labours and presented an entire copy of the Bible to the Madras Auxiliary. The Madras Committee passed a resolution recording its thanks to Mr. Percival who had been 14 years on the work; and set up a committee of six people to look over the Tentative Version and pave the way for a standard version. Sub-committees were set up in Tanjore, Tinneveli, Madura, Travancore and Ceylon. Each missionary in Tamil speaking areas was supplied with copies for distribution among all competent assistants for the purpose of getting their opinion. Copies were also sent "to Christian friends as are acquainted with Tamil and may be likely to aid the object."

It is desirable here to compare and contrast the Tentative version with other Tamil versions and examine some of its features.

A whole article may be written on the different names employed to translate the word "God" in the different versions. The possibility for such diversity arose, because in the Tamil language no common noun had become inseparably associated with the name of God. The commonest practice in Hindu worship has been to use personal

names. The term Brahma does not have the significance either in Sanskrit or in Tamil which would have conveyed the Christian connotation aright. In Sanskrit it refers to a Deity without qualities. In Tamil it refers to one of the *Tirumoorthis,* inferior to Siva. *Nikandu* has many common names for God. These are attributive and general. Quite a few of them are often applied to human beings.

Christian translators, when they came into the field, therefore, had a wide choice of common nouns. The Portuguese in the 16th century did not translate the Bible but in their Tamil books of devotion and doctrine used the term தம்பிரான் (the Absolute) in reference to God. Ziegenbalg used the term சர்வேசுரன் (the Almighty). This term is still retained by Roman Catholics. Fabricius used the term பராபரன் (Lord of Heaven). This was retained by all Protestants till the Tentative Version, and is still used by the Lutherans. There are two words used as common nouns to denote the names of God in the originals of the Bible viz.: *Elohim* in Hebrew and *Theos* in Greek. Elohim is plural of the term "El" which is applied to any god in the Semitic languages. When the Hebrews spoke of Almighty God they used Elohim as an honorific plural to denote Him. Theos in Greek and Deus in Latin are related to the Sanskrit derivative தேவன் and are all associated with light. The term தேவன் is the one used in the Tentative version for God.

There has been much criticism of the use of this term; as in Tamil it is used not so much in reference to the Almighty but to any god. Some have put down its use to the lack of sufficient knowledge on the part of the missionaries. Others have attributed it to the aforethought malice of Navalar, whose mother, it was said, had instructed him, when he undertook to help Percival not to teach the correct word "Īswaran" to the Christians. As against the truth of this story, it might be urged that the Christians already possessed the secret in the word சர்வேசுரன்.

Perhaps the truth of the matter is that the term தேவன் best represents the etymological background of both Elohim and Theos. Though the Bower Version of 1871 (also called the Union Version) retained the term, both the Larsen Version of 1936 and the more recent Monahan Version have substituted கடவுள் to eliminate the ambiguity of the word தேவன்.

Besides the common noun Elohim the Hebrew also uses another term in reference to God, which is His proper name. This word was originally pronounced *Yahweh.* But in course of time, owing to the command against using the name of God in vain, people began to shrink from actually pronouncing the word, and when they came to it in a text, said *Adonai,* "the Lord". Hebrew is a language in which originally only the consonants were written. Later when the pronunciation of words was becoming doubtful, after the dispersion of the Jews from Palestine, the vowels were inserted in the form of dots and dashes above or below the consonants. So it came about that the vowel points of the word Adonai were inserted under Yahweh; and the word in later times came to be pronounced Jehovah. The Septuagint (the Greek translation of the Old Testament done by the Jews before the Christian era) had followed the Jewish practice and used the word *Kurios* meaning "Lord" for Yahweh; and The Vulgate of St. Jerome, published at the beginning of the 5th century did the same. All European versions, under its influence, have followed suit.

Absolutely the first decision that the Jaffna missionaries made, when they set about translating the Bible, was to transliterate the proper name of God, to avoid, they said, idolising a word, and "setting it up into an unpronounceable tetragrammation." There is a learned memorandum extant submitted to the Madras Auxiliary when the Union Version was being prepared, probably written by Spaulding, protesting against its intention to

reverse the action of the Jaffna Committee by using the term "Lord". The Union Version reverted to the translation done by Fabricius, who had used the word கர்த்தர் from the Sanskrit kṛ meaning "doer". So vehement were the Jaffna missionaries about the matter, that the committee in charge of the Union Version (now in use in all Protestant Churches except the Lutheran) undertook by an agreement, in 1869 to print the term கர்த்தர் in bold characters, to show that it really stands for a proper name. Larsen went back to the Tentative in this matter; but Monahan has adopted the general practice.

A look at a few more features, somewhat minor in character, may be interesting. The practice of having forms of the auxiliary verb "to be" as a copula between subject and complement is bad grammar in Tamil. Fabricius, however, always commits this Solecism. The Tentative avoids it. In the 23rd Psalm Fabricius has கர்த்தர் என் மேய்ப்பராயிருக்கிறார். The Tentative has யெகோவா என் மேய்ப்பர். Though Bower goes back to Fabricius in this respect, subsequent versions have followed the Tentative. In translating the word "light" the Tentative sided with Rhenius and said ஒளி where Fabricius had said வெளிச்சம். Bower went back to Fabricius, but Larsen and Monahan use both words. The Tentative has been alone in Tamil in translating the exclamation "behold" with due regard to etymology. Fabricius had translated it இதோ. The missionaries of 1850 said "Behold" has a verbal origin; whereas they said "இதோ" was made up of a noun இது+ஓ a particle of doubt, surprise or interrogation." Where Fabricius had இதோ லோகத்தின் பாவத்தைச்சுமந்து தீர்க்கிற பராபரனுடைய ஆட்டுக்குட்டி, the Tentative has பாருங்கள் உலகத்தின் பாவத்தைச் சுமந்து தீர்க்கிற தேவ ஆட்டுக்குட்டி. Everybody else, however, has followed Fabricius in the matter. For translating the word "Woe" all other versions use ஐயோ. The Tentative uses ஐயோ ஆபத்து வரும். The adjective "blessed" is translated பாக்கியவான்கள் by every one from Ziegenbalg downwards

(except Mr. Gnanapragasam, who in a single handed effort in 1922, to give the Bible a literary flavour, uses the word found in the Sanskrit and Hindi versions and renders it தன்னியர்கள்). The Tentative translates it by வாழ்வுடைய வர்கள்.

Let us now notice some samples from the Tentative version as against the Bower version :

PSALM 100

The Tentative	*Bower*
பூலோகத்தாரே, நீங்களனைவரும் யெகோவாவை நோக்கி ஆனந்த முழக்கமிடுங்கள்.— மகிழ்ச்சியோடே யெகோவாவுக்கு ஆராதனை செய்யுங்கள்; துதி பாடிப்பாடி அவர் சந்நிதியிற் செல்லுங்கள்.— யெகோவாவே தேவன், நம்மை சிருட்டித்தவர் அவர், நாமல்ல; நாம் அவர் சனம், அவர் மேய்க்கும் ஆடு; இதையுணர்ந்து கொள்ளுங்கள் — துதியுடனே அவர் வாசல்களிலும், வாழ்த்துதலுடனே அவர் பிராகாரங்களிலும் பிரவேசியுங்கள் — யெகோவாவே தயாபரர்; அவர் தயை என்றுமுள்ளது; அவர் சத்தியந் தலைமுறைதோறும் நிற்கும்; ஆதலால் அவரைத் துதித்து அவருடைய நாமத்தை வாழ்த்துங்கள்.	பூமியின் குடிகளே, எல்லாரும் கர்த்தரைக் கெம்பீரமாய்ப் பாடுங்கள். மகிழ்ச்சியோடே கர்த்தருக்கு ஆராதனை செய்து ஆனந்த சத்தத்தோடே அவர் சந்நிதிமுன் வாருங்கள். கர்த்தரே தேவனென்று அறியுங்கள்; நாம் அல்ல, அவரே நம்மை உண்டாக்கினர்; நாம் அவர் ஜனங்களும் அவர் மேய்ச்சலின் ஆடுகளுமாயிருக்கிறோம். அவர் வாசல்களில் துதியோடும், அவர் பிராகாரங்களில் புகழ்ச்சியோடும் பிரவேசித்து, அவரைத் துதித்து, அவருடைய நாமத்தை ஸ்தோத்திரியுங்கள். கர்த்தர் நல்லவர், அவருடைய கிருபை என்றென்றைக்கும், அவருடைய உண்மை தலைமுறை தலைமுறைக்கும் உள்ளது.

ACTS 14 : 15, 16

மனுஷரே, ஏன் இப்படிச் செய்கிறீர்கள், நாங்களும் உங்களைப் போலப் பாடுஅனுபவிக்கிறமனுஷர். நீங்கள் இந்த மாயைகளை விட்டு, வானத்தையும், பூமியையும், சமுத்திரத்தையும், அவைகளிலுள்ள யாவையுஞ் சிருஷ்டித்த சீவனுள்ள தேவனிடத்திற்குத் திரும்பும்படி, உங்களுக்குச் சுவிசேஷமாய் சொல்லுகிறோம். சென்ற காலங்களில், சருவ தேசத்தாருந் தங்கள் தங்கள் நெறிகளிலே நடக்க இடங்கொடுத்தார்.	மனுஷரே, ஏன் இப்படிச் செய்கிறீர்கள்? நாங்களும் உங்களைப் போலப்பாடுள்ள மனுஷர்தானே; நீங்கள் இந்த வீணான தேவர்களை விட்டு, வானத்தையும் பூமியையும் சமுத்திரத்தையும் அவைகளிலுள்ள யாவற்றையும் உண்டாக்கின ஜீவனுள்ள தேவனிடத்திற்குத் திரும்ப வேண்டுமென்று உங்களுக்குப் பிரசங்கிக்கிறோம். சென்ற காலங்களில் அவர் சகல ஜனங்களையும் தங்கள் தங்கள் வழிகளிலே நடக்கவிட்டிருந்தும்,

ACTS 17 : 23–27

The Tentative

நான் உலாவி, நீங்கள் பூசிக்கும் பொருள்களைப் பார்த்தபொழுது, "அறியப்படாத தேவனுக்கு" என்றெழுதப்பட்டிருந்த ஒரு வேதிகையைக் கண்டேன். நீங்கள் அறியாமற் பூசிக்கும் அவரையே நான் உங்களுக்கு அறிவிக்கிறேன்.—உலகத்தையும், அதிலுள்ள யாவையுஞ் சிருஷ்டித்த தேவன், வானத்திற்கும் பூமிக்கும் அதிபதியாதலால், அவர், கையாற் செய்யப்பட்ட ஆலயங்களில் வாசஞ் செய்கிறதில்லை;—யாதாயினும் ஒரு பொருள் தமக்கு வேண்டுவதாக மனுஷருடைய கையினுற் பணிவிடை கொள்ளுகிறதுமில்லை,—அவர் சிவனையும், சுவாசத்தையும், மற்ற யாவையுஞ் சமஸ்தருக்குங் கொடுத்திருக்கிருரே, பூமண்டலத்திலெங்கும் வாசமாயிருக்கும்படி, ஒரே இரத்தத்தினின்று மனுஷசாதியார் யாவரையுஞ் சிருஷ்டித்து, நம்மில் ஒருவருக்குந் தூரமல்லாத தேவனுகிய தம்மை அவர்கள் தடவியடையத்தக்கதாக—தம்மைத் தேடும்படி அவர்களுக்காக முன் தீர்மானிக்கப்பட்ட காலங்களையும், வாசஸ்தான எல்லைகளையும், நிருபணம் பண்ணினர்.

Bower

எப்படியென்றுல், நான் சுற்றித் திரிந்து, உங்கள் ஆராதனைக்குரியவைகளைக் கவனித்துப் பார்த்தபொழுது, அறியப்படாத தேவனுக்கு என்று எழுதியிருக்கிற ஒரு பலிபீடத்தைக் கண்டேன்; நீங்கள் அறியாமல் ஆராதிக்கிற அவரையே நான் உங்களுக்கு அறிவிக்கிறேன். உலகத்தையும் அதிலுள்ள யாவற்றையும் உண்டாக்கின தேவனுனவர் வானத்திற்கும் பூமிக்கும் ஆண்டவராயிருக்கிறபடியால் கைகளினுல் கட்டப்பட்ட கோவில்களில் அவர் வாசம் பண்ணுகிறதில்லை. எல்லாருக்கும் ஜீவனையும் சுவாசத்தையும் சகலத்தையும் கொடுக்கிற அவர், தமக்கு யாதொன்று தேவையானது போல, மனுஷர் கைகளால் பணிவிடை கொள்ளுகிறதுமில்லை. மனுஷஜாதியான சகல ஜனங்களையும் அவர் ஒரே இரத்தத்தினுலே தோன்றப்பண்ணி பூமியின் மீதெங்கும் குடியிருக்கச் செய்து, முன் தீர்மானிக்கப்பட்ட காலங்களையும் அவர்கள் குடியிருப்பின் எல்லைகளையும் குறித்திருக்கிருர். கர்த்தராகிய தம்மை அவர்கள் தடவியாகிலும் கண்டுபிடிக்கத்தக்கதாகத் தம்மைத் தேடும்படிக்கு அப்படிச் செய்தார்; அவர் நம்மில் ஒருவருக்கும் தூரமானவரல்லவே.

What was Navalar's part in the translation ? Navalar's biographer Suddhananda Bharati says that the version turned out under Percival's supervision was really Navalar's handiwork. Every chief translator uses an assistant who is not merely well versed in the language into which the translation is taking place, but if possible, one who speaks it as his mother tongue. The face of William Carey's Bengalee assistant is very familiar from a well-known picture. It would be interesting to know what Carey did for assistance in regard to the other languages, as he translated the Bible or the New Testament into 40 different languages.

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The fact that he probably had to work without such assistance is perhaps the reason why, except the Bengalee translation, all others have now been superseded. One Rajacopal was the chief assistant of Bower; and G. S. Duraiswamypillai was the assistant of Larsen. I believe mostly the chief translator, after looking at the original in Hebrew or Greek would, if he were an Englishman or American, look first at the English Version and then at any earlier translation available in the language into which he is translating; point out where he wants to differ from the existing translation and give his own rendering. It will then be the task of the assistant to couch the rendering in good idiom. One may say that while the commodity belongs to the chief translator, the wrapping is contributed by the assistant. But on the other hand, it may be pointed out that the commodity is already in the text, and is not produced by the chief translator. That both, the chief translator and his assistant play an important part is obvious. The contribution of the assistant need neither be minimised or exaggerated. But since the wrapping must necessarily be his, it is obvious that the style largely results from his influence.

Bharati gives an account of Percival's trepidation, before going to Madras with Navalar to submit the new version, and the assurance Navalar gave him that he would be able to meet all objections. The incident is probably true, though the vividness of the conversation owes something to the biographer's imagination. The version was referred to the greatest Tamil scholar of the day then in Madras, Maluvai Mahalinga Iyer. Besides being a scholar of Tamil, he also had a good knowledge of English. Mahalinga Iyer is said to have been delighted at the style of the new version and pronounced it flawless. It is said that he was quite surprised that Jaffna could produce such good Tamil. Dr. Miron Winslow, the compiler of the monumental Tamil Dictionary which bears his name, then Editorial Secretary of the Madras Auxiliary of the Bible

Society, also sometime later declared that while Fabricius was deficient in idiom and Rhenius was too periphrastic, the Tentative version adhered more strictly to the original than Rhenius and was more idiomatic than Fabricius.

The real judges of the new version, however, were not scholars but the buyers. The version was sent up to the various local committees for their opinion ; and from the two committees, those of Tanjore and Tinnevelli, came very decided objections to the new version. And the Christians of Tanjore and Tinnevelli comprised three-fourths of the Tamil Christian community of the day. The Secretary of the Madras Auxiliary records on 23rd September 1852 that, while he had received most favourable opinions of the new version from brethren well acquainted with the language, "a numerical majority of the Tamil missionaries on the continent manifested a decided preference for the older versions."

There were two chief objections raised in Madras about the Tentative version. One was that it did not stick closely to the original. It was said that instead of combining the excellencies of Fabricius and Rhenius, it had merely combined the peculiarities of Jaffna Tamil and Indian Tamil. Years later, when the Madras Auxiliary drew up an account of the proceedings connected with the Union Version, it was sufficiently ill-advised to incorporate this remark into the report, as if it was its own judgment. In view of strong protests from Jaffna, it hastily modified the passage and attributed the remark to others. The criticism about fidelity had already been met by Dr. Winslow, who considered it actually superior even to Fabricius in that respect. But the point to remember is that Percival's committee had been asked not to depart from the English Authorised Version. The committee therefore acted as if its adherence to the English version would be the criterion by which its work would be judged. The dislike for the new version was occasioned not because it deviated from

the originals, but because it departed from Fabricius. Fabricius had been in the field for more than 70 years and his text had acquired a certain status, if not sanctity, in the minds of Christians.

The second criticism was that it was too heavily loaded with Sanskrit words. The Jaffna missionaries reserved their answer till they could demolish this argument. When the Madras Auxiliary had almost finished their version to supersede the Tentative, the Jaffna committee selected one book, as an instance, to drive home its point, and showed that in the Gospel of St. Mathew, the Tentative had 14,965 words out of which 2,994 were of Sanskrit origin, while Bower had 15,575 words of which 2,856 words were of Sanskrit origin. The missionaries were able to ask " What then is the force of the objection against the Tentative Version ? ".

When the preparation of the Tentative Version was drawing to a close, on a visit to Madras, Mr. Spaulding had been able to note the growing suspicion about it, and had recorded his opinion that it was due to the idiomatic character of the new version. He commented saying " many of our esteemed brethren have not gone beyond the work of Europeans in forming a standard of style ; and most of the native Christians, with whom I have had to do, have formed their theological language from the Fabricius version of the Bible ".

That the Tentative Version is a noble piece of work is undeniable. Its diction has a stateliness about it, which gives it a place as literary work. But a sacred Scripture, while certainly it will lose much by bad idiom, does not fulfil its purpose merely by preserving good idiom. It aims at something far more important than being literary work. A literary work is cherished by scholars and men of learning, literary taste and discrimination. A sacred Scripture ought to have universal appeal. It is meant to be cherished

by the high and the low. It may be said about a Scripture that its doctrines and ethical demands are above the standards of the common man; but if it be said that its language is above him, then it has failed to achieve its fundamental aim. Students of languages know how the Scriptures in each language are about the easiest books in it. The *Gita* and the earlier *Upanishads* have a stark simplicity about them. It is impossible that Navalar should have been unacquainted with them; but his Sanskrit reading seems to have been chiefly in Saivite literature, which is less well known and more difficult. It is therefore, not unnatural that with Navalar a certain majesty and literary flavour should have been a more important consideration than simplicity. The Bower version which succeeded the Tentative, though very inferior to the Tentative in idiom, succeeded in establishing itself more firmly in people's affections, because it possessed this fundamental characteristic.

Looking at the Tentative Version in the perspective of history, what have been its main results? In the first place, the fact that they had the Tentative version before them to consult, enabled Bower and his colleagues, especially because of sixteen years of prodding by the Jaffna missionaries, to improve materially on Fabricius. But more particularly, has its consistent striving after purity of idiom been a strong influence on Bower's successors. The literary sensitiveness of the Indian Christian community has sufficiently advanced in this century to insist that literary considerations should not be allowed to fall into the background. The Larsen Committee paid so much attention to this demand that its version aroused the same kind of opposition that the Tentative had encountered. Realising that they were handling a very delicate task, Larsen's successors have made a conscientious effort to arrive at chasteness of idiom, while not departing too obviously from the familiar sounds of the old accepted version. Therefore, it cannot be denied that the Tentative has left its mark

permanently on the process of Bible translation, by its insistence that even a text of Scripture should not ignore rules of grammar and syntax; that in fact it should not ignore them, because it is a text of Scripture.

Odd as it may seem, however, the association of Navalar with the project of Bible translation had greater influence on Saivism than on Christianity. Percival's introduction of Navalar into the workings of the Christian missionary movement gave him an inside knowledge of how a religion is best propagated in modern conditions. His introduction into the literary circles of South India gained him many important contacts on the continent. With these invaluable helps he severed his connexion with Percival's school soon after the publication of the Tentative version and embarked upon a campaign of breathless zeal for the revival of Saivism throughout South India and Ceylon, that ended only with his death in 1879.

Some Similes from Kambar

C. R. MYLERU.

It is one of the characteristics of great poets to use similes in their writings. This can be verified from the works of great world-poets like Homer, Milton, Dantē, Vālmīki, Kambar and Bhārathi. These similes are not only lovely by themselves, but they also illustrate and make the points under discussion or description more appealing and interesting. In our country these similes or as they are called *Upamānas* and *Upamēyas* are considered to be a separate kind of decoration for literature and have been treated as such by poets. That is why it is considered necessary for poets to introduce suitable similes in their works wherever possible. Thus it is possible to collect the similes of poets like Vālmīki and Kambar separately for the sake of their own beauty and charm, and they make an exceedingly fine study indeed.

The great Kambar uses grand similes in the course of his *Rāmāyana* in the best tradition of our literary men. They are beautiful by themselves and they also illustrate and explain the points he wishes to clarify. They could be compared with Homer's long-tailed similes which are used magnificently by the Greek poet. Milton, too, uses his similes in an equally effective manner in his great work, *Paradise Lost.* When we go through Kambar's similes we are naturally reminded of the similes used by Homer and Milton.

Homer's similes are well-known and they are scattered widely in the course of his great epics *The Iliad* and *Odyssey.* An outstanding instance among the similes is the one which describes the number and variety of the Greek soldiers who set foot on the soil of Ilium and stormed

Troy; it occurs in the words of the Trojans who watched the Greeks land to attack Troy, from their battlements.

Of course Milton's similes are great and they are found in plenty in his *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained.* Just to give one or two examples in Book I of *Paradise Lost,* Milton describes the huge length of Satan's size lying chained to the burning lake in Hell after his fall. His head was uplifted and his eyes blazed sparkling when he spoke to his nearest mate. Now comes the simile :—

> " His other parts besides,
> Prone on the flood, extended long and large,
> Lay floating many a rood, in bulk as huge,
> As whom the fabled name of monstrous size,
> Titanian, or Earthborn, that warred on Jove
> Briareos or Typhon, whom the den
> By ancient Tarsus held, or that sea-beast
> Leviathan, which God of all His works,
> Created hugest that swim the ocean stream ;
> Him, haply, slumbering on Norway foam,
> The pilot of some small hight-foundered skiff
> Deeming some is land, oft, as sea-men tell,
> With fixed anchor in his scaly rind,
> Moors by his side under the lee,
> While night invests the sea, and wished — to morn delays ;
> So stretched out huge in length the Arch-Fiend lay,
> Chained on the burning lake."

Take for example this one in Book II describing the flight of Satan through the caverns of Hell towards its gate to go to Earth to tempt and seduce man :—

> " As when far-off at sea a fleet descried
> Hangs in the clouds by equinoctial winds
> Close—sailing from Bengala, or the isles
> Of Ternate and Tidore, whence merchants bring
> Their spicy drugs ; they on the trading-flood
> Through the wide Ethiopian to the Cape,
> Ply stemming nightly toward the pole : so seemed
> The far-off flying-Fiend."

We here incidentally note the euphonious use of proper names by Milton.

Now let us turn to a few examples of Kambar's similes. The first example is from Bālakhandam, *Thātakai Vadhai Padalam.* The context is this :—

Viswāmithra is proceeding to his forest with Rama and Lakshmana following him to help him in the conduct of his sacrificial rites peacefully. Then they have to pass through a desert-land. Kambar describes the arid and parched appearance of the land in the following lines and incidentally employs a fine simile to illustrate the nature of the desert land. This is how the stanza runs :—

> " தாவரும் இருவினை செற்றுத் தள்ளரும்
> மூவகைப் பகையரண் கடந்து முத்தியில்
> போவது புரிபவர் மனமும் பொன்விலைப்
> பாவையர் மனமும்போலப் பசையும் அற்றதே."

The general meaning of the passage is :—

" The sage's mind is free from thoughts of good and evil and their results. His mind is also able to cross the three-fold barriers of love, anger and desire and it goes along the path of salvation ; his mind is absolutely free from all kinds of attachment to anything worldly. Similarly, the mind of the prostitute is utterly free from all thoughts of kindness and attachment to anyone. In the same way the desert-land through which they passed was free from all or any suggestion of moisture or fertility." It is a beautiful and charming simile undoubtedly. Incidentally the use and comparison of the sage's mind with the prostitute's mind as being free from all attachment is bold and striking, but yet quite true.

The next one is introduced by Kambar when he describes the death of Thātakai by an arrow of Rama and this is how it goes :—

> " கான்(று) எரிதலைகள் ஆய அரக்கி தன் கடினமார்பத்(து)
> ஊன்றிய பகழிவாய் ஊ(டு) ஒழுகிய குருதி வெள்ளம்,
> ஆன்ற அக்கான மெல்லாம் பரந்ததால்; அந்திமாலைத்
> தோன்றிய செக்கர், வானத் தொடங்கற்று வீழ்ந்த தொத்தே."

It means: "Rama's arrow pierced the hard-heart of the demoness Thātakai whose head and hair were red like burning fire. The blood which flowed from her wound spread all over the forest surface and it was as if the broad red evening-sun-set sky had fallen down on the earth somehow." Whenever I see the evening red sky I am reminded of this stanza.

Similarly the previous stanza in the same chapter *Thātakai Vadhai Padalam* describes how Rāma sent an arrow against Thātakai and its effect on her. This is described in a beautiful simile. The stanza runs thus :

"சொல் ஒக்கும் கடிய வேகச் சுடுசரம் ஒன்றைச் செம்மல்
அல்ஒக்கும் நிறத்தினுள்மேல் விடுதலும், வயிரக்குன்றக்
கல் ஒக்கும் நெஞ்சில் தங்கா(து) அப்புறம் கழன்று, கால்லாப்
புல்லர்க்கு நல்லோர் சொன்ன பொருள் எனப் போயிற்றன்றே."

It means :—"Rāma aimed an arrow against Thātakai who was like darkness itself; it was powerful like the order of a great king in its force. It pierced the diamond-heart of the demoness and fell on the other side, without remaining there which was like the wise advice of good people to ignorant and foolish people." The two figures employed here are really magnificent and appropriate.

Next we get a few grand similes in *Mithilai Kātchip-Padalam* when the poet describes the condition of love-lorn Sēētha and Rāma. When Sēētha looks at Rāma first from her room in the palace as he goes along the streets of Mithila with Viswāmitra and Lakshmana, she loses her heart completely to him and after his disappearance from her view she becomes quite lost for all practical purposes. At this point we get a fine figure Kambar's words are these :—

"பிறையென நுதலவள் பெண்மை எனப்படும்!
நறைகமழ் அலங்கலான் நயன கோசரம்
மறைதலும் மனம் எனும் மத்த யானையின்
நிறைஎனும் அங்குசம் நிமிர்ந்து போயதே."

It means :—" Sēētha who had a fore-head like the crescent-moon was completely lost, when her heart was captured by Rāma's eyes when Rāma who had a garland of sweet-smelling flowers full of fluttering and buzzing bees disappeared from her view and with him his beautiful eyes, too, disappeared. Sēētha's mind became like a wild elephant which could not be controlled at all, because the mahout's hook which was used to direct it became straightened and useless." Here her natural maidenly shyness is compared to the mahout's hook; because of her love for Rāma she lost her shyness which is compared to the straightening of the mahout's hook in which case the mind which is like a wild-elephant cannot be controlled at all. Now let us turn to Rāma and see his condition after he, too, had been struck with love for Sēētha. When he retired to bed after leaving Lakshmana and Viswāmithra he could not sleep at all, because the thought of Sēētha kept coming up again and again. He thought that the God of Death " Yama " himself had come in Sēētha's form to kill him alive as it were. Kambar says here :

" வண்ண மேகலைத் தேர்ஒன்று, வாள்நெடும்
கண்ணி ரண்டு, கதிமுலை தாம் இரண்டு,
உள் நிவந்த நகைஎன ஒன்றும் உண்டு
இன்னணில் கூற்றினுக்(கு) எத்தனை வேண்டுமோ?

It means of course :—" For taking away my life how many weapons does Yama use ? A form (a torso) like a chariot, with a narrow bottom and waist and a broad chest covered by a lovely piece of decorated upper cloth round it; two eyes long and sharp like swords, two firm and rounded breasts, and a fine smile which does not burst out but feels happy with itself should all these weapons be used by Yama to torture me ? " so says Rāma most appealingly.

But by-far the most magnificent simile in the whole ' Padalam ' if not in the whole of Kambar is the one where

he describes the glories of sun-rise which comes after Rāma's sleepless night because of his love for Sēētha. I personally think that the whole idea and thought in that stanza are wonderfully bold and startlingly accurate and inspiring. Here follows the particular stanza :—

"எண்ணரிய மறையினொடு கின்னரர்கள் இசைபாட,
உலகம் ஏத்த,
விண்ணரும் முனிவரரும் வேதியருங் கரங்குவிப்ப,
வேலை என்னும்
மண்ணுமணி முழவு அதிர, வான் அரங்கின் நடம்புரி
வான், இரவி என்னும்
கண்ணுதல் வானவன் கனகச் சடைவிரித்தாலென, விரிந்த
கதிர்களெல்லாம்."

It means :—"The singers of Dēvaloka are intoning the various tunes of the Vēdas, the Dēvas and Rishis and Brāhmins are praying with their hands clasped above their heads in deep meditation. The oceans which are like a huge *Mridangam* are playing the grand rhythm in the sound of their waves when the sun with his bright rays enters the stage of Heaven (Sky) from the East, like the fore-head-eyed God Sri Natarāja Mōōrthy who enters the Kanaka-sabai with his lustrous locks flying about for his grand Ānanda Thāndava." This is a grand stroke of imagination, which is hard to be excelled by any poet. It is an absolute masterpiece.

We next go to the Kārmughap Paḍalam ; the context is Rāma's getting up and go to the bow of Siva to bend and string it on Sēētha's *Swayamwara* Day. This is how Kambar describes Rāma's alacrity in his task, which drew the admiration of all the on-lookers. The stanza goes thus :—

"பொழிந்த நெய்ஆகுதி வாய்வழி பொங்கி
எழுந்த கொழுங்கனல் என்ன எழுந்தான் ;
அழிந்தது வில்லென விண்ணவர் ஆர்த்தார் ;
மொழிந்தனர் ஆசிகள் முப்பகை வென்றார்"

It means :—

"Rāma arose from his seat like the sacrificial fire which jumps up along the path of the ghee which is poured into it; the Heavenly folk shouted for pleasure that the bow was finished and the Rishīs who had crossed the three-fold barriers of the mind, uttered their blessings on him." Kambar is fond of this figure of the sacrificial fire jumping up when ghee is poured on it, but he uses it nowhere else more beautifully than in this context here.

Then, we get a couple of grand figures together in the 'Yezhucchip Padalam' and the context is this :—

Rāma and Lakshmana come out of Mithila to salute their father Dasaratha who has come with his retinue from Ayōthya to Mithila for his son's wedding with Sēetha. Then a number of girls rush out from their places to see Rāma going in his chariot. How and what do they look like? Kambar answers this question in the following two stanzas. The stanzas are these :—

(1) "மானினம் வருவ போன்றும், மயிலினம் திரிவ போன்றும்,
மீனினம் மிளிர, வானின் மின்னினம் மிடைவ போன்றும்,
தேனினம் பம்பி யார்ப்ப, சிலம்பினம் புலம்பிரங்க,
பூ நனைக் கூந்தல் மாதர் பொம்மெனப் புகுந்து மொய்த்தார்."

(2) "பள்ளத்துட் பாயும் நன்னீர் அனையவர் பானல் பூத்த
வெள்ளத்துப் பெரிய கண்ணார் மின்சிலம்(பு) அலம்ப, பெண்புத்
தள்ளத்தம் இடைகள் நோவத் தமைவலித்(து) அவன்பாற் செல்லும்
உள்ளத்தைப் பிடித்துநாம், என்(று) ஓடுகின்றாரும் ஒத்தார்."

It means :—

(1) "Like the forest deer rushing forth together, like peacocks wandering together, like the Heavenly stars shining together, like the fire-flies of the sky hurdling together, with the flower-bees buzzing all around, their

anklets sounding sorrowful tunes, the girls of Mithila with their wet hair full of honey from flowers, rushed together in a body and surrounded Rāma's chariot.

(2) "They rushed together like water flowing from a higher to a lower place; their big eyes were like the *Nēēlorpala* flowers in the flood; their anklets sounded deeply and they were pushed by an uncontrollable force which made their waists pain. It looked as if they were rushing to clutch and capture their hearts which were going towards Rāma involuntarily, so they ran and ran." What a wonderful idea and how beautifully expressed as only a Kambar could express.

For the next great simile shall we go to *Mandirap Padalam?* The context is this:—Rāma is informed by Sumanthiran that King Dasaratha would like to speak to him and so at once Rāma dresses himself and goes to see his father, driving in his chariot. Then the girls of Ayōdhya are crowding the doors and casements of their houses to see Rāma passing along. How do they look like as they collected themselves in groups at their open doors and windows? The particular stanza runs thus:—

"நீள்எழுந் தொடர் வாயினும், குழையொடு நெகிழ்ந்த
ஆளகத்திடை அரமியத் தலத்தினும், அளந்த
வாள் அரத்த வேள் வண்டொடு கெண்டைகள் மயங்கச்
சாளரத்தினும் பூத்தன தாமரை மலர்கள்."

The meaning is this:—

"All along and behind the various pillars, doors and windows full of flower-creepers and open yards for moonlight, girls were crowding together to have a glimpse of Rāma as he went along the streets. Their eyes were long and sharp like swords and full of small red blood-vessels which made even the beetles and *Kendai* (a kind of fish) think for the moment that the faces were lotus flowers, which had suddenly blossomed all along the windows and

doors of the mansion in the street." This, too, is a grand figure undoubtedly.

In the same Padalam we meet Kōsalai the mother of Rāma and let us see how she receives the news of her son's coronation. The stanza runs thus :—

" சிறக்கும் செல்வம் மகற்கெனச் சிந்தையிற்
பிறக்கும் பேருவ கைக்கடல்—பெட்பற
வறக்கும் மாவட வைக்கனல் ஆனதால்
துறக்கும் மன்னவன் என்னும் துணுக்கமே."

The general sense is this :—

" The thought of her son Rāma becoming the heir-apparent produces an ocean of joy in Kōsalai's heart, but, it loses its watery nature immediately and dries up completely, because of the emergence of *Vadavaikkanal* (an ocean-fire) from it ; and that ocean-fire is the thought and fear of her husband Dasaratha going into the forest for doing " Tapas " after crowning Rāma." The two naturally connected ideas are magnificently conveyed by the two equally naturally connected similes from the sea, and Kambar gives us this figure of the sea and the ocean-fire very often in the course of his great work.

In the *Mandarai Chūzhchip Padalam* we get a beautiful description of the flags and festoons flying over the streets of Ayōdhya in honour of Rāma's coronation. The lines run like this :—

" வெள்ளிய கரிஎன, செய்ய வேறுள,
கொள்ளைவான் கொடிநிறைக் குழாங்கள் தோன்றுவ
கள்ளவிழ் கோதையான் செல்வம் காணிய
புள்ளெலாம் திருநகர் புகுந்த போன்றவே."

The lines mean :—

" White, black, red and various other colours were seen in the different and multifarious flags which were

flown in large numbers on the various buildings for the coronation of Rāma. It seemed as if all the multi-coloured birds of the sky had come to Ayōdhya to see the coronation of Prince Rāma who wore garlands full of honey flowers." The comparison between the many coloured flags fluttering in the air and many plumed birds of the sky is very apt and natural indeed.

We get a number of small similes in a nicely arranged manner in a stanza describing the feelings of various people at the news of Rāma's forthcoming coronation. The lines are as follows :—

"மாதர்கள் வயதின் மிக்கார் கோசலை மனத்தை ஒத்தார்;
வேதியர் வசிட்டன் ஒத்தார்; வேறுள மகளிர் எல்லாம்
சீதையை ஒத்தார்; அன்னாள் திருவினை ஒத்தாள்; அவ்வூர்
சாதனமாந்த ரெல்லாம் தயரதன் தன்னை ஒத்தார்."

It means :—

"At hearing the news of Rāma's forthcoming coronation, old ladies felt as happy as Kōsalai, mother of Rāma; Brāhmins felt as happy as Vashishta the Sage; other young women felt like Sēētha in their joy and happiness; Sēētha herself felt like 'Mahālakshmi'; old people who were intending to leave worldly interests for a life of "Tapas" in the forest, felt like Dasaratha himself." The succession of comparisons and similes here is magnificent, and it reminds us of the grand four similes coming one after the other in Shelley's "Sky-lark", the only difference being that here Kambar speaks about different sections of the people and their reactions, whereas there, Shelley speaks about the effect of the sky-larks' song on the hearers.

Let us now see how Kambar describes the bevy of girls who rushed about eagerly to see Rāma's coronation. Our poet is always fond of vividly describing the reactions of women to any incident or event in the course of his epic. Here he employs a grand simile to portray their

appearance as they came along in their numbers. The stanza is as follows :—

"குவளையின் எழிலும் வேலின் கொடுமையும் குழைத்துக் கூட்டி,
திவளும் அஞ்சனம் என்(று) ஏய்த்த நஞ்சினைத் தெரியத் தீட்டி,
தவள ஒண்மதியுள் வைத்த தண்மைசால் தடங்கண் நல்லார்
துவளும் நுண் இடையார், ஆடும் தோகையங் குழாத்தில் தொக்கார்."

The meaning is :—

"The eyes of the girls who crowded to see Rāma's coronation had the beauty of 'Nēēlorppala' flowers and the sharp cruelty of spears mixed nicely together ; another ingredient to be mixed with the above mentioned two, was the unmistakable so-called eye-black which was really like deadly poison in its effect on men's hearts ; such slaughtering eyes were beautifully placed in bright and lustrous moon-like faces, and they had small and swaying waists. so that, when they moved about they looked like strutting peacocks moving about in flocks."

And finally here is a grand painting of the darkness and some moon-light in the forest through which Rāma, Lakshmana and Sēētha passed when they left the hermitages of some Rishis with whom they had stayed for some time ; it appears in the 'Thailam Āttu Padalam'. The two particular stanzas concerned are these :—

(1) "பொய் வினைக்(கு) உதவும் வாழ்க்கை அரக்கரைப் பொருந்தி, அன்னார்
செய்வினைக்(கு) உதவும் நட்பால் செல்பவர் தடுப்ப(து) ஏய்க்கும்
மைவிளக்கியதே அன்ன வயங்(கு) இருள் துரக்க, வானம்
கைவிளக்(கு) எடுத்த(து) என்ன வந்தது கடவுள் திங்கள்."

(2) "அஞ்சனக்குன்றம் அன்ன அழகனும் அழகன் தன்மேல்
எஞ்சலில் பொன்போர்த்(து) அன்ன இளவலும்,— இந்து என்பான்,
வெஞ்சிலை புருவத்தாள்தன் மெல்லடிக்(கு) ஏற்ப வெண்ணூற்
பஞ்சிடைப் படுத்தால் என்ன வெண்ணிலாப் பரப்பப் போனார்."

The general sense of the verses is this :—The darkness in the forest was so great, when Rāma, Lakshmana and Sēētha passed through it, that it seemed as if the darkness which was ever a friend of the Rākshashas who had always followed a false way of life in consonance with their wishes and desires ; out of love and help for them (Rākshashas) the Darkness physically prevented the heroes from proceeding into the forest, as otherwise Rāma and Lakshmana would surely kill its friends viz., the Rākshashas (a sort of proleptic use in anticipation of the result, which is very appealing indeed). At that time the Godly moon (as opposed to the demoniacal Darkness) came up in the sky like a guiding hand-light for Rāma and others and it drove away the Darkness like the eye-black on the face of women, which drives away any white spots on the eye-lids and brows" (Though Kambar uses the imagery of the eye-black which is not the colour of the moon-light, it is a bold stroke, and the point of comparison is quite clear. The expression 'Godly moon' is wonderfully used here by the poet.)

The beautiful Rāma appeared like a black-dyed mountain moving (referring to his dark colour) and Lakshmana looked as if the same mountain had been covered over with a golden garment (referring to his fair colour). At that time the Moon-God "Indu" began to spread on the forest-floor, bits of moon-light which filtered through the thick-leaved trees, resembling bits of white cotton pads so that the bow-browed Sēētha could walk comfortably through the jungle." These two figures here are grandly used by Kambar in this context.

Thus, the few similes of Kambar given above are wonderful examples of the poet's ability in the field. They are scattered in plenty throughout the Epic and they could be collected together and studied with profit. I am sure they will stand comparison with the figures used by the best world poets.

The Teaching of Tamil Grammar

T. P. MEENAKSHISUNDARAM.

எண்ணென்ப ஏனை எழுத்தென்ப இவ்விரண்டும்
கண்ணென்ப வாழும் உயிர்க்கு.

To me it has been given as a student and a teacher, as a parent and a correspondent, to observe and experience subjectively and objectively, from inside and outside, the teaching of Tamil. The general impression of a Tamil class left in my mind, except in those rare cases coming into contact with mighty personalities, is that of a dull, unimportant, and ununderstandable gathering, full of potential mischief. It does not require any very elaborate analysis to find out the root cause of this calamity. The teachers of Tamil count for nothing; and Tamil Grammar has driven the students who are compelled by some syllabus to memorise the mantras of Pavananthi Mamuni, to the point of despair.

It is very often presumed that this objection to the study of what just now goes by the name of grammar, is born of ignorance of that subject. The truth is really otherwise. It is eminent scholars of Comparative Grammar, like Skeat, Jesperson and Whitney, that sounded the death knell of the old school of teaching grammar. I can have no prejudice against Tamil Grammar which has ever been my hobby. Nor has the teaching of the real grammar apart from the spurious one, created any problem for me. That is because I was taught by my Master to consider the ancient Tamil Grammar as the true science of language and not, as the framers of some lingering syllabus mistook it, as a handbook on correct writing. On account of this wrong approach, even the students of Oriental Colleges fail to get inspired in the subject, and nourish in their heart of hearts, a hatred towards grammar thus reaping no benefit from a course in *Tolkappiyam*.

Tolkappiyam and *Nannul* are monuments of scientific and descriptive grammar. The chapter on sounds (எழுத்து) deals with phonology a subject completely forgotten by the subsequent generations ; the chapter on words (சொல்) deals with morphology, semantics, and ergonics ; and the chapter on subject matter (பொருள்) (or literary theme) deals with the art of literary composition and poetic appreciation. The commentaries studied in their proper perspective, reveal to us the historical progress of the Tamil language but it must be confessed it is a kind of an esoteric teaching. Even as the judge in the guise of interpreting the statute actually legislates for the changed conditions, so does the Indian commentator frame his rules and evolve his philosophy, in the guise of interpreting the ancient texts. This is a well known legal fiction. Without knowing his role of an original contributor when one goes to him for any light as an annotator, one meets with the saddest disappointment. *Tolkappiyam* codified, so to say, the rules obtaining in its age. The living language has been ever changing and growing as Tolkappiyar himself expected (*kati col illai kalattuppatinae*) discarding many old rules and evolving many new ones. But still the commentators by their magical interpretations keep up the show of an unchanging and unchangeable grammar, for all times and for all contingencies. Once the legal fiction is understood, the commentaries become so many historical grammars reviewing the whole march of the language from epoch to epoch.

When the question of the confusing grammatical terminology was hotly discussed in the early twenties of this century, an interesting suggestion was thrown out by a member of the English Association that the principles of Universal Grammar could be usefully taught to the children, with great profit and that nothing more was needed. Such an universal grammar is fortunately found only in *Tolkappiyam*. It begins long before the time of Wundt, with the sentence as the unit of thought. After explaining

certain interesting problems of concordance and agreement, Tolkappiyar continues his study of words with an analysis of the declensions of nouns. It is true that the genitive is really a complement of the noun ; but if the locative was the source of the genitive as some will have it, even the genitive might be interpreted as a complement of the verb. The sutram which ends " Ayettenpa tolin mutanilaiye " emphasises this concept of complement of the verb. After this study, the sentence is analysed into a subject or name word and a predicate or the action word, both of which may take complements. Jesperson's theory of Rank, arranging the words into primaries, secondaries and tertiaries receives an unexpected support from one of the sutrams ; and from the general arrangement of nouns, finite verbs, peyareccam and vinai-eccam. Tamil is an agglutinative language and its words appear to be compounds or pakupatam. Even a child can resolve some of them into roots or uriccol and inflexions or itaiccol. This is all the morphology that need be taught to anyone. The important distinction between nouns and verbs on the one hand and uriccol and itaiccol or the semantemes and morphemes on the other, had not been fully grasped by the teachers of the old school, in spite of the explanations offered by the ancient commentaries of Teyvaccilaiyar and Cenavaraiyar and these self-luminous terms give no light to these blind leaders of our youths.

The teachers of grammar, in the dark ages, began to assume the role of dictators and constituted themselves into final courts of appeal in the province of correct linguistic usage. Even Manu, they forgot, never legislated but only codified the usage. Tolkappiyar by a process of inductive and objective study has classified the laws of linguistic usage prevalent in his days. A language reaches its perfection when reduced to writing and blessed with a grammar ; but unfortunately this kind of perfection stems the further flow of the linguistic current, leading sometimes to stagnation and putrefaction. There is

always here as everywhere that eternal struggle between freedom and order where failure to adjust spells death. A language lives sometimes inspite of the grammarians. The progress which Jesperson has traced in the history of the English language is not always possible after the codification of a grammar. The legal attitude of the grammarians has developed a wrong view of grammar. It is fundamentally wrong to look upon grammar as a normative science ; it is only an objective science of the linguistic phenomena, still in the stage of description, analysis, and classification, without any power of forecast and control of the phenomena. When that is the true picture of the grammar, the grammarians cannot but become the laughing stock of the modern writers, when the former give the authority of the old grammatical texts as sufficient explanation for any usage which they deem as correct.

The mind of the student is thus led away from the scientific quest of the fundamental principles of grammar and language to the dictatorial rule of their paltry jargons. This attitude of the grammarians had robbed the study of grammar of all its inspiration and interest. Every rule of grammar is social in origin, demanded by the exigencies of time and usage. It is not a logical proposition but a conventional formula. It is a solution of a linguistic problem, and looked in that way, the dry bones of grammar appear full of life clothed in flesh and blood. Presented that way, the rules of "valu-amaiti" or exceptional idiomatic usage, for instance, will be as interesting as the solution of riddles. A human form appears at a distance but it is not clear whether the person is a man or a woman. In the absence of a word common to both man and woman in Tamil, how to express this doubt becomes an interesting problem. The language has solved this riddle by the usage of the word 'form'. The usages "Is he a man or woman" and "Is she a man or woman" being admittedly incorrect in Tamil, the usage "Is that form masculine or feminine" which goes against no established

rules of grammar, has come to be accepted by the convention of the people, who are after all the real builders of the language. It is in this spirit that the ancient grammarians laid down the rules. Their Sutras are hard nuts to crack, because they are so many cryptic notes for their lectures to the students who thronged to their gurukulas. Again, the punarcci or sandhi rules are solutions of interesting and important phonetic problems. The solutions suggested reveal the working of many curious laws of phonetics. The conceptions of glides, assimilation, dissimilation and omission of surplus age in communication along with its contrary principle of necessary redundancy —all these and more lie embedded in these rules, which unfortunately remain unexplained in this way to the modern students thirsting for real knowledge.

There is a great and incessant demand for replacing the heart-aching grammar by a soul-stirring art or science of composition. The word "ceyyul" used by Tolkappiyar fortunately denotes a literary composition whether in prose or poetry ; and thus in this world ever arguing about the reality of the distinction between prose and poetry, he has cut the Gordian knot. He relies more upon the rhythm than upon the rules of scanning. Unfortunately our grammarians coming to teach, have not as yet realised this great truth. When sufficient ear training and practice in voice production are given, the various shades of pronunciation, intonation, and musical pattern, come to be appreciated by the child. I have known children of the First Form composing verses on varied subjects in the tunes with which, (thanks to the Talkies,) they had become familiar. Can it be honestly stated that we are cultivating this creative art in our schools ? There was time when poetic compositions were condemned by many as futile. That was the result of the teaching of the pseudo-grammar.

Tolkappiyar divides literary compositions into poetry of noumenal experience and poetry of phenomenal experience

(*Akam* and *puram*), a distinction much more subtle than that of subjective and objective poetry. The various aspects of these are elaborated only for the purpose of illustration ; but forgetting this underlying purpose, the latter day Tamilians have slavishly codified these free illustrations, as the only forms of poetry, denying any freedom for new usages, or illustrations to grow and thrive. Living poetry has thus been conventionalised into a mummy. .

Sentiment (*meyppatu* or *ras*) as opposed to sentimentality is the soul of poetry, and Tolkappiyar enumerates eight sentiments, a study of which would unlock the emotion recollected in tranquillity and locked up in poetry. Figures of speech are not looked upon by Tolkappiyar as external appendages or ornaments but as something intrinsic in poetry. They are the modes of expression—the very form of poetic thought. Tolkappiyar fortunately does not enumerate the various figures of speech ; for, no enumeration can either reveal the inner truth or exhaust the perennial flow of the poetic forms. He anticipates Appayya Dikshita, in considering the varied figures as variations of simile. Again, suggestion (*iraicci*) giving full play to imagination is the very breath of poetry. Even this valuable conception had been allowed to be forgotten by the subsequent generations. It is really therefore very surprising that Tolkappiyar should have grasped the fundamentals of literary composition and appreciation and portrayed them forth with the help of a few bold strokes of his pen. These are the very truths which have to be, by proper method, instilled into the hearts of our children. Tolkappiyar by the use of the term "*Patu tirai vaiyam*" (948), true to his universal outlook, makes these principles applicable to the whole world, though attempts have been made to interpret the term to refer only to the Tamil country, to which alone the Tolkappiyam is considered to have any application by the short-sighted Tamilians of the later days. It is not possible sufficiently to bemoan the loss sustained by this country by its neglect of these salient truths. One

cannot but despair of the future of this Tamil country, when, in her seats of learning, the students are refused the firm grasp of these essentials of literary composition. When is the gulf yawning wider and wider between the writers of Tamil and the teachers of Tamil to be bridged, if not here and now ?

There is a new idea in the air, ever since the days of the Russian Revolution. The conception of planning has taken deep roots in every country. It is no longer looked upon as interfering with natural evolution of things. Planning weeds out the unnecessary growths and safeguards the natural development. This conception of planning has unconsciously come to play its part in the arena of language. Linguists have always been planning for a universal language. Basic English reveals the working of the principle of planning in this new sphere. Are not even our text books such attempts at planning as these ? Unfortunately this has not yet been realised by many. If the Tamil newspapers read by the man in the street contain more than 5000 words, of what use can these text books be, which even if systematically studied from the infant standard to the highest class in an elementary school could give only a command over 1000 or 2000 words ? Are not years spent in such institutions without equipping oneself for life, at least to the extent of reading the newspapers—criminal waste of time ? Is there not then room for planning ?

No word-frequency list, as the one prepared by Thorndike for English, has yet been prepared for Tamil. Nor has any one systematically, and scientifically, analysed according to the varying physical ages of the children, the linguistic difficulties of the child, and the common errors of the age. If that has been done, and quantitatively arranged in the order of frequency, it will not be difficult to plan a course of study for avoiding the usual pitfalls of language. Mr. Palmer having emphasised the necessity

for preparing a microcosm of words in a language—minimum number of words that ought to be taught—based on the principles of frequency, on the principle of concreteness, on the principle of ergonic combination, on the principle of proportion or importance, and on the principle of general expediency. Once it is admitted as is usually done now-a-days, that grammar is not to be taught directly but that the rules ought to take a shape and form in the unconscious mind thus giving rise to a steady habit of speech and writing as a result of the extensive reading and speaking in which students become gradually interested in the course of their supervised studies, the linguistic planning here referred to assumes a great importance in the teaching of grammar.

The verbal microcosm varies from period to period in the history of a language and even among individuals it grows with their age. This truth needs no emphasis in this age of mental tests. Blessed with real insight, Tolkappiyar in his chapter on *Semantemes* or *uriccol* throws out a few valuable suggestions. He explains that there will be no end to the process of explaining a word by another and that by a third and so on. (*Portkupporul teriyin atu varampinre* (874)). One however need not always rely on this futile method. Palmer, when he describes that semanticising or conveying a meaning, may be by natural association, by translation, by definition, and by context, reminds us of Tolkappiyar who states that the meaning can be correctly conveyed without suffering any change, if it can be explained in other ways (*Porutkuttiripillai unartta vallin* (875)). But there is a limit to such teaching and explanation, a limit prescribed by the receptive capacity of the students adapted/to their width of experience : (*Unarcci vayil unarvor valitte* (876)). The mental tests have shown to the world that there is an age for understanding certain conceptions and stories. It is foolish if not dangerous to quicken the pace of the mental development of the child. It is impossible to make a child of

four, understand the conception of subject or object. Have our text books taken this important truth into consideration ?

Nobody has attempted to study the development of the grammatical sense in the child of the Tamil country. But the other countries can show us the way. The Iowa Child Welfare Research Station gives an outline of the progressive stages in language development (Little, N. F., and William, H. M., — *An Analytical Scale of Language Achievement,* University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare, 1937-13 No. 2, 88-94) :—

THE CHILD

(1) Vocalises spontaneously — babbles
(2) Definitely attends to vocal stimulation by turning head toward or watching person vocalising.
(3) Uses syllables consisting of consonant and vowel in spontaneous vocal activity.
(4) Vocalises in response to being talked to
(5) Shows comprehension by some specific and consistent response to verbal stimulation waving "bye-bye" on demand, etc.
(6) Uses final consonant in syllables,
(7) Uses vocal symbol to express meaning,
(8) Imitates sound in pitch or inflexion,
(9) Uses five symbols to express meaning,
(10) Uses ten symbols to express meaning.
(11) Combines two words or symbols to express meaning such as "bye-bye car" or "here daddy",
(12) Uses six conventional words accurately. (Pronunciation need not be perfect but words must be intelligible to one unfamiliar with child).
(13) Uses agent — action or action — object structure such as "ride car" or "hurt baby".
(14) Definitely uses noun verb or verb object structure. (Must have more than one instance.)
(15) Substitutes more than once a pronoun for other person's name.

(16) Uses preposition more than once. (Usually appears as the substitution of such a phrase as "go to town" for "go town" or "ride in car" for "ride car".)
(17) Qualifies noun with adjective.
(18) Qualifies verb with adverb.
(19) Uses auxiliary verbs.
(20) Uses regular plural in nouns more than once.
(21) Uses any tense of verb other than the present.
(22) Uses conjunction.
(23) Uses past tense correctly.
(24) Uses compound sentence.
(25) Uses complex sentence giving correct instance of dependent clause.
(26) Uses future tense correctly more than once.
(27) Uses correct regular comparatives in adjectives.
(28) Uses correct regular superlatives in adjectives.
(29) Uses irregular plural nouns correctly.
(30) Uses compound-complex sentence.
(31) Uses correct regular superlatives in adverbs.
(32) Uses past perfect tense correctly.
(33) Uses future perfect tense correctly.

With the help of this, we have to observe the Tamil child and prepare an outline of the progressive stages of the development of the linguistic sense in the Tamil child and correlate it with the age, before utilising that valuable information in preparing a scheme of study or a scheme of speech training for our children. The necessity for such planning needs no further plea. Unfortunately in our country nothing has been done in this way and therefore when the teacher goes to teach grammar on the basis of *sutras*, he lectures above the head of the children who begin to dislike the teacher and the subject.

The verbal microcosm of the modern age, thanks to our material progress assumes vast proportions. The claims of our scientific and mechanical age can be satisfactorily met by any one of the ancient languages like our Tamil only after proper linguistic planning. A blue print has to be prepared of the field of studies to be covered, of the

technical terms to be used and of the principles to be followed in coining new technical words. For nearly two decades, the mother tongue has been the medium of instruction in our High schools and yet no uniformity has been established in the use of technical terms. That in the midst of mutual recriminations between the Sanskritists and the Tamil purists, the students should suffer is indeed a sad reflection on the present condition of our educational efforts. The principles of coining technical terms are ultimately in one sense of the word, grammatical rules. The perspicuous morphology of the Tamil language is so self-explanatory that any diligent student of Tamil can straightway coin successfully the popular scientific terms. The studies therefore have to be planned in such a way as to familiarise the students with the various methods of expressions, a familiarity with which will help them to understand and appreciate any current coin issued from the linguistic mint of accepted usage.

Viewed within the background of linguistic progress the Tolkappiyam sutram

kati col illai kalattuppatune (935)

(that no new word which has gained currency in course of time can be condemned) and the sutrams of Pavananti

பழையன கழிதலும் புதியன புகுதலும்
வழுவல கால வகையினானே.

palayana kalitalum putiyana pukutalum
valuvala kala vakiyinane

(that the old usage disappears and the new gains currency ; this is the play of time ; there is nothing wrong about it) and

பகுதி விகுதி இடைநிலை சாரியை
சந்தி விகாரம் ஆறினும் ஏற்பவை
முன்னிப்புணர்ப்ப முடியும் எப்பதங்களும்.

Pakuti vikuti itainilai cariyai
canti vikaram arinum erpavai
munnippunarppa mutiyum eppatankalum.

(that all the words can be successfully analysed if only done with care into the six categories : theme, suffix, infix, inflections, assimilatory changes and euphonic changes.) cease, if one may be pardoned for indulging in ancient and modern jargons, to be dry bones, splitting and creeking in the grammarian's Golgotha but become human dynamos charging the whole world with its electricity, producing millions of kilowatts of mental energy for driving the social engine on its way to progress. In this age of atomic bomb one must not forget the explosive power of effective and active words. An innocuous monosyllable like the word "ass" generates and releases on the spur of the moment any amount of energy feeling and action both in the speaker and the auditor when uttered as a term of abuse. Appreciated in this light, the mysteries of language present a panorama of miracles all through the course of its history, and a deeper study will compel language to yield its inner truths, explaining these mysteries on a rational basis. We hope we have seen the end of the age of the dictators. Mighty forces of destruction were let loose on this earth by the power of the tongue. The whole world resounded with the roaring of the puny little mannikin of a Hitler for well-nigh a decade and a half, which shook the whole world, mankind and all its culture to their very foundations. Even from a pragmatic point of view the study of speech is a necessity in an age of democracy. Grammar *stands arraigned* before the world that it has done all it can to stifle the development of speech, though the ancient grammars like Tolkappiyam with their phonetic rules of pronunciation emphasise the speech aspect of language.

II

Unfortunately the study of these ancient works of grammar so full of life and light have been metamorphosed into a heroic pilgrimage through a dreary desert of meaningless learning, possible only for the chosen few, all but dead to the world. No wonder Sampson exclaims "It is

the sorry fate of literature to fall into the hands of school masters and examiners who care for her dowry more than for her charms. Communication of enjoyment indeed may be called the immediate purpose of the lesson on literature. Deeper communications may follow but they must travel in the path of love and liking. Literature may become a subject for study but it must be first of all the object of love". Miss E. T. Rajeswari, in an interesting paper, contributed to the Commemoration Volume presented to the late lamented Tamil scholar, T. V. Loganatha Mudaliar, brings home to us the humour enshrined in *Tolkappiyam*. This human aspect of the ancient grammar has rarely been emphasised. Our grammarians of the later days have been really the precursors of the mechanical age and they have been successfully grinding down human minds into uniform paste. Their dictatorial attitude demands slavish acceptance of their word by the students. The ghosts of the commentators and the witchery of the grammar teacher haunt the class rooms. Is there any wonder that India lay enslaved? If there was no freedom of thought within the sacred precincts of a class room how could freedom thrive elsewhere? "Education with inert ideas is not only useless, it is above all things harmful". There is even now too much of cramming and too much of spoon-feeding even in our Honours courses—too much to be assimilated by any healthy mind. Even if digested the amount of adipose tissue which will result will be so much dead weight disfiguring the symmetrical beauty of the human mind, arresting all its free movement and leading on ultimately to disease and decay. After reading Graham Wallas's *Art of Thought*, one loses faith in the First Class Graduates of this 'ancien régime'. Democracy thrives only in an age of creative thinking. Independent research alone can vivify our studies. Freedom of thought is the foundation and the crown of all cultural edifice. The rule of the dead letter should be exorcised and the reign of the divine spirit should be worshipfully restored.

Instead of starting to discuss the problem of teaching grammar, in the lower classes, thus far, an attempt has been made to throw some light on the study of grammar in the Arts and Oriental Colleges. It is there the future teachers are nurtured. If the nursery itself is contaminated no growth can be expected. The right attitude should be developed and the right approach encouraged. Teaching can be symbolised by a triangle with the Teacher, the Student and the Subject as three corners where the Teacher and the Subject on one side and the Teacher and the Taught on the other are connected and where it is the aim of education to evolve the growth of a connection between the two points—the Subject and the Taught, through the magical influence of the Teacher. It is thus clear that the teacher makes or mars the future of the pupils. He is the guide, the friend and the philosopher. The west can boast of geniuses like Montessori, dedicating their life to the cause of Child education. In spite of their missionary zeal and intensive work for more than a century, the world has not yet understood the full significance of their message that the future of civilisation depends upon the right kind of schools. Our civilisation wastes its energy in perfecting the atomic bomb rather than in perfecting its education.

The position here in India is extremely deplorable, in spite of the growth of the conception of Basic education. The educational service here more than anywhere else, commands no respect and attracts very few real men. The 'Higher Grade' teachers in the charge of the lower classes are but blind men leading the blind children. A band of missionaries of culture with a cosmopolitan outlook and universal love inspired by a passion for the Tamil language, literature, country and civilisation is needed. We are in a sad plight with greater confidence in the brick and mortar, in the work-tables and black boards, in the books and methods than in man and his work. It is the teacher who has to vivify this dead matter and by the magic of his personality, make these stones and wood preach

their sermon and sing their psalms, in unison with the dance and play of the infant lords of the future. Suggestion, sympathetic imagination and confidence are necessary in a teacher. Interest and enthusiasm are catching, and it is the teacher alone who can keep the interest in any subject burning. " A teacher should have a certain amount of natural eloquence, quickness of perception and appreciation of foreign character as well as an interest in all that concerns life "—(Dr. Munch). Palmer summarises the qualities and duties of a teacher of language—" The first qualifications of the expert teacher are a knowledge of the foreign language and of the students' natural tongue and the ability to organise the programme to choose the appropriate material and the most appropriate means of conveying and of inculcating it. Another function of the teacher is to furnish explanations. The vehicular language for all explanatory matter should foster and encourage the pupils' capacities of visualisation by adopting for explanatory purposes the principle of visual correlation. Further functions of the teacher are, (a) To cause or to stimulate the pupils to work, (b) To give the pupils opportunities of hearing the language spoken and to act the part of the second person in a conversation, (c) To act as examiner to award marks and to correct errors. The teacher is to react against the vicious tendencies of studies ". These quotations relate to the teacher of a foreign language where alone the teaching of grammar assumes an importance unknown elsewhere and therefore have to be modified to suit the requirements of a teacher of mother-tongue. Taught by men who do not know Tamil and who have become despondent because of their failure in life, the children feel no inspiration for any work but acquire wrong habits of expression which they cannot get rid of all through their life.

James in his famous Talks to Teachers has once for all emphasised the necessity for developing the right kinds of habits in the children coming to educational institutions. Of these habits, we, speaking on grammar,

are concerned only with the habits of expression. The tendency of the modern age of cinema is to make use of the eye more than the ear. Our civilisation honours the written letter more than the spoken word and strives after literacy rather than culture. In the three R's, there is place for reading and writing but not for speaking which it was thought requires no teaching. Our education has thus been sidetracked. The very term "the three R's" is the outcome of a commercial age. The plea for literacy is purely utilitarian and has resulted in manufacturing the quill drivers of bureaucracy. Speech is the reality and writing is but a shadow and a symbol. Good speech, as Patanjali has pointed out centuries back, is a sign of culture and good breeding. But we are ever liable to forget that "language is first and foremost a spoken thing not a written thing"—(Ballard). Modern educational writers have realised that the correct method of teaching language and grammar is by teaching the child to speak. "If our aim is to learn to read, write and speak a living language, we shall be adopting not only the most natural but also the most direct and expeditious method of achieving these ends by concentrating in the first place on the mastery of spoken tongue"—(Kittson).

In these days of democracy when unity has to be developed as against parochialism, by abolishing all degrading colloquialism which brand on the speaker with his caste or creed, the educational institutions, *in the absence of healthy family conditions, ought to teach the art of speaking more than anything else*. The child coming to the school does speak Tamil but that Tamil is so far removed from the standard Tamil, which is really for that very reason, a foreign language to the child. The beginning is the important crisis. "Now you know", says Socrates, "that in every enterprise the beginning is the main thing especially dealing with a young and tender nature. For at that time it is most plastic and into it the stamp which it is desired to impress sinks deepest". The dialects and

their knowledge are necessary for this approach. These ought to be approached with a sense of appreciation and reverence. The conception of corruption in a language ought to be forgotten. Slowly the standard dialect should be introduced.

It is very unfortunate that this natural method of education of the ear by concourse of sweet sounds begun under very good auspices at the cradle by the loving mother, singing endearing and soothing lullabies is not effectively continued in our educational institutions. That mother is the greatest of teachers was forgoten and the social degradation of the women sent the educationist to search for truths away from the home. The mother and the woman have once again to be installed on their domestic throne. The classical tradition—a museum show—has blinded people to the virtues of a living language which came to be spoken of as a vernacular or prakrit. Sanskrit and other classical languages which are no longer anybody's mother tongue are studied for giving an access to literature : they are therefore knowledge subjects offering little scope for learning by doing. But in a living language the power of expression is a matter of skill ; we learn by doing ; it is therefore a skill subject in addition to being a knowledge subject ; it is therefore an art. There is no way of learning to swim except by swimming and there is no way of learning a living language except by speaking it.

That no man hears his voice as others hear it because he hears his voice through the bone of his head rather than through his ear alone, is not realised by many teachers, who therefore neglect to practise from early days the art of voice production and correct pronunciation. The child however is nothing, if not musical. Given the necessary ear training the intonation curves and musical patterns, the rhythm of prose, and the metre of poetry, are differentiated and enjoyed by the children. Poetic composition is really a child's play under those circumstances. Nor need

any one despair of the child living in the slum learning the standard pronunciation; for the right form uttered even once by the inspiring teacher, who is in the eyes of these young ones a divine personality will outweigh the use of the colloquial forms though frequently uttered by his fellows of the slum. Of course, as already stated, no feeling of inferiority should arise in the child's mind about his particular dialect. The pronunciation of ழ, ள, ல, ற, ர, ன, ண and ந have to be drilled by phonetic exercises sung as chorus. It is very unfortunate that sanctions even educated people holding the highest degrees should not know the correct pronunciation of these letters. Phonetics is the first and most important chapter in any grammar worthy of that name. The ancient grammarians like Tolkappiyar have realised the necessity for phonetic training, for it is the first subject that they teach, though as our misfortune will have it, this healthy training was given up in later times.

The next thing to be done is to allow the child freely to talk. There is no use of interfering with the free flow of speech except by way of appreciation and by way of carrying on the conversation in the same way as the mother does, where what we call the subjective language and relative phrases come into full play. When the child is nervous of speaking out, correcting it at every step will only seal its mouth for all time to come. " Watering pot is more useful than the pruning fork ". Therefore the wise teacher knows when to smile and when to frown with a great confidence in time, curing the linguistic aberrations. Therefore what is important is that the child should begin to talk however incorrect that speech may be. The Slav proverb has it " Tko Zelidobro Govoriti Mora Natu Cati " (i.e.) whoever wants to speak well, must murder the language. " The man who has killed a thousand, is half a doctor ", so says the Tamil proverb.

Teaching the grammar at this stage is positively harmful and hence Herbert Spencer condemns the intensely

stupid custom of the teaching of grammar to children. The grammatical rules only detract the child's attention from the meaning. Therefore one must cry with Jesperson "Away with lists and rules. Practise what is right, and again and again".

In the school the pupils are doing active and passive work. Palmer has insisted on the training of the subconscious.

There is a formless stage followed by a stage of system and co-ordination in the mental development of the child. Nature does not believe in economy. Soon after the development of the stage of system, learning ought to be treated as an art aiming at an economy of effort. Art and nature thus combined become infallible.

But what is the kind of teaching which one indulges in? A text book is usually prescribed and all kinds of studies are carried on with the help of that one Bible of the class. Every sentence is torn to bits. The child is given no time to enjoy the reading; in between the explanations the child has to write sentences of its own, apart from answering questions. Michael West has proved the necessity for teaching (1) Speaking, (2) Reading, (3) Oral composition, and (4) Written composition, as four different units. These are four distinct arts and have to be cultivated as such. Unfortunately this epoch-making discovery has not been utilised to the fullest extent in Tamil land. It is only when this system is followed that the child can become interested, in understanding and expressing, and thus gaining pleasure.

Palmer has again emphasised the principles of segregation with teaching of language. "In order to exclude confusion and misunderstanding during the initial period of conscious study, the phonetic orthographic, etymological, semantic and ergonic aspects of language must be segregated from each other and taught independently. In the process of subconscious study and in the later periods of

conscious study that segregation is neither possible nor desirable". This suggestion is given for the teaching of a foreign language and can be followed only in the higher grades. Too sharp a distinction however ought not be made between grammar and other linguistic usages. Grammatical rules of general application may serve to secure their observation. Co-ordination has its own place in the educational system as much as segregation. Grammar groups, compares and, when the child's mind is properly developed, makes one consciously observe and understand the linguistic phenomena which have become already known and assimilated unconsciously by the student. What is wanted is not the rules of grammar should be learnt by rote but the linguistic sense or the feel, which the Germans call the "sprachgefuhl" should be developed. The children should be given plenty of material to imitate not in a disconnected way unconnected with life; and the grammatical conscience will be developed unconsciously.

When the memorising of the sutrams is condemned, it is not because that one is against the past; for the past lives in the present, more than anywhere else, in language. It is an irrational method. The sutrams are mnemonic formulae. They ought not to be looked upon as divine revelations, self-explanatory and coercive. One must not forget usage is the real sanction behind these grammatical rules. Nor is getting by heart to be condemned as intrinsically criminal. "Learning by heart is the basis of all linguistic study; for, every sentence ever uttered or written by anybody has either been learnt by heart in its entirety or else has been composed (consciously or subconsciously) from smaller units each of which must at one time have been learnt by heart"—(Palmer). Without verbal memory, enjoyment of literature is reduced to its minimum. There are certain things like the multiplication table, which have to be memorised, but, all in the course of practical usage, as Ballard has insisted with reference to the multiplication table itself. Drilling has therefore a

place and it must be done with a completeness worthy of the study. It must be done so thoroughly that the child understands it fully. *Grammatical practices merely for the sake of grammar without any ulterior literary or linguistic purpose is positively harmful.* Often one gets a satisfactory result in the drill work, but the result is unfortunately not carried to the actual speaking or writing. Such drills divorced from actual linguistic practice have to be completely eschewed.

All the objections to the teaching of grammar have arisen because of its dictatorial attitude, of its hairsplitting and meaningless distinctions, its wrong application of the classical rules to the living language, the distaste for any study of literature which it engenders, the hollowness of its exclusive claim to a mental discipline, its futility as a guide to correct speech and writing, and its pretensions as the true keeper of the linguistic conscience. Therefore the grammarians of the present day, have scaled down their claim to an acceptable minimum. The magical properties of the grammatical rule which when once discovered was supposed to safeguard the learner from further error are admitted to be superstitions. Modern Grammar points out only very simple and clear distinctions. Multitudinous exercises are avoided. Grammar is said to encourage mental discipline not standing alone but along with many other subjects of study. Instead of insisting upon its indispensability, grammarians are satisfied with the plea that formal grammar is not after all completely useless; it at least helps one to have a connected idea about language. It is conceded that the rules of grammar should be taught only in the higher grades. Co-ordination in linguistic studies is now insisted on. Terms such as subject, predicate and object which are comprehensive and interesting to children to discern, need alone be taught, and even then, as and when they are required for a correct understanding and appreciation of a speech or a writing, through an analysis of a live speech.

Of the heuristic, inductive and deductive methods, it is now agreed that the most effective method under particular circumstances should be used without giving up the practice method. It is no longer logic but psychology that guides the teaching of grammar. Language is a living thing, dealing with real things and a right understanding of the nature of language is necessary to lay down the right principles of study. Grammar is therefore no longer our dictator but our servant helping the building up of a standard judgement. It is granted by the modern grammarians that reflective analytical knowledge of the mother tongue is being built up as a factor in writing and reading. An accumulation of grammatical facts in such studies kindles a natural interest in words, their life, their composition and their varying colour of connotation and denotation; and when once that interest is kindled, the anatomy and physiology of language becomes a fascination (Wyatt, Chubb, Carpenter, Baker and Scott).

Therefore modern grammar is expected to be a natural grammar without tears. Gouin's grammatical method is an example. In spite of this, the very name of grammar has become repulsive. "But cannot even Dame Grammatical be made attractive to the minds of the young ?" asks Karl Breul and answers "I think she can and I have no doubt that everything depends on the way in which a teacher introduces her to the children". The playway method has revolutionised education in these institutions where it is followed. Mr. Cook's book has become a classic. Mr. Ryeburn in his book has worked out an interesting and practical scheme of graded linguistic games for Indian conditions. He has provided for the Hide and Seek, Card games, Telegram, Matching and Completion games, Choice games, Word building and Sentence building games and a host of other games which will all sustain the interest of children.

Palmer gives various interesting exercises and games, one of which the Living ergonics is really an interesting

dramatic hit. It is now agreed that sentence must be taught as a unit and that various model sentences should be learnt as so many frame works in which other words or phrases should be fixed in, by what is now familiar to every teacher as the substitution method. Every model sentence is then enacted, each pupil playing in the appointed order, the role of a part of speech therein, coming in with his smaller or larger groups of phrases and clauses. When each pupil will recite his or her special word and go on substituting, after every act of a sentence is finished. In spite of Jesperson's Analytical Syntax and Palmer's book emphasising the ergonics, no attempt has been made to prepare an ergonic chart for Tamil.

Though the whole programme for the linguistic games had been completely chalked out, in all its detail, by these eminent writers, whose books are familiar to every teacher worthy of the name, very few institutions in Tamil land can boast of following this playway method. The great problem is to conquer the apathy of the teacher. Mental tests have rarely been used for purposes of diagnosis and prognosis.

" Linguists no longer dream themselves as arbiters of speech but simply recorders of usage "—(Whitney). Not even satisfied with this, Ballard and others who are anxious that the language should be stopped from changing for the worse, feel that this can be done successfully, only, when the science of composition takes the place of grammar. Tolkappiyar had already paved the way for this. His book cannot be looked upon as grammar or vyakarana, it can be described only as a treatise on the science and art of composition and literary appreciation. Therefore it ought not to be difficult to follow this path, for any diligent student of Tamil who has undergone any useful course in Tolkappiyam. Tiruvalluvar when he speaks of (eluttu) as the eye, must have had this art and science of composition in his mind.

Merely listening to the word of a teacher is not enough ; one has to learn by doing. The Playway education, the Project Method and the Dalton Plan are therefore very important Mutual discussions among students, the practical use of things learnt for instance in teaching to others makes one's education perfect, according to the views held by the ancient Tamilians, as is made clear by the following verses :

ஆசான் கூறியவை அமைவரக் கொளினும்
காற்கூறல்லது பற்றலனாகும்
அவ்வினையாள ரொடு பயில் வகை ஒருகால்
செவ்விதினுரைப்ப அவ்விருகாலும்
மையறு புலமை மாண்புடைத்தாம்.

"If a student grasps what all the teacher has taught he will have command only over 25% , if he moves in addition with other students thirsting for knowledge he gains a further 25% and when he successfully teaches he gains the remaining 50% and his erudition becomes then flawless and great"

Students should be given more responsibility, and greater initiative should be encouraged The science of composition has to take all these truths into consideration According to Ballard, the function of the oral composition lesson is to train for public speaking and public debate Who can deny the importance of public speaking in this age of Democracy ? Any camp fire will open one's eyes to the immense possibilities in a child approached in the proper way.

The making of a writer ought to be the next great aim of education We perfect ourselves by correctly expressing our thoughts But today it is not so much the creative inspiration as the examination fever that is the characteristic feature of the class room Few teachers have learnt the art of the new examiner The child has to write a composition on the spur of the moment, without striking out any letter The composition has to come

out of the young brain as perfect as Minerva coming out of the head of Jupiter. Even a Shakespeare and a Newman will be condemned as dullards by our pedagogues. Ballard therefore speaks of the " art to blot " and emphasises preparation, revision and self-criticism. The truth of this point of view can be verified by any one who cares to go through a manuscript class magazine of any school, as contrasted with ordinary student exercise books, containing interesting tit-bits, short stories, descriptions of camp fires, occasional poems in popular tunes, caricatures and pictures, all neatly and elegantly done and thus revealing what can be done when once the interests of the children are aroused. That is how creative art is developed. There is here no spirit of competition which rules our world ; it is all a co-operative effort of the New Age.

Sir Philip Hartog therefore rightly condemns the present unnatural educational formula of writing anything about something for anybody which therefore supplies no incentive to write. Writing is both a record and a message and therefore the first principle of Hartog is that the writer must have the audience in his mind. The second principle is that a skeleton should be prepared before writing the essay. The third principle is that the child should mark its exercises after discussion with the teacher. Thus the creative and critical faculties are developed along with the grammatical conscience without any exercises in formal grammar. " The habit of mental alertness and vigilance so engendered is of vital importance in a democracy " —(Ballard). It is in this spirit that the old Tamil poem speaks of this art of composition leading on to the greatest Freedom.

எழுத்தறியத் தீரும் இழிதகை மை தீர்ந்தான்
மொழித் திறத்தின் முட்டறுத்தான் ஆகும்—
மொழித்திறத்தின்
முட்டறுத்த நல்லோன் முதனூற் பொருளுணர்ந்து
கட்டறுத்து வீடு பெறும்.

The First books printed in Tamil

XAVIER S. THANI NAYAGAM.

The establishment of schools and the introduction of printing was part of the educational programme of the European missionaries who entered India and Ceylon in the sixteenth century. Many of the leading missionaries in the sixteenth century, like Francis Xavier, were scholars who had been educated at the universities of Europe, at Paris, Coimbra, Salamanca and Rome, and came from countries which had felt the impact of the Renaissance and the revival of learning ; and hence we find them introducing into India and Ceylon educational methods and techniques which were current in the Europe of their day. Such, for instance, were the founding of schools, both for religious and secular instruction, and the recruitment, training and financing of catechists and teachers, and the language methods they adopted for mastering spoken and written Tamil. One of the pioneer foreign scholars, Henrique Henriques (1520-1600), the first known European to have initiated a scientific study of the Tamil language and to have written copiously in Tamil, even proposed the erection of a Tamil University at Mannar or Punnakayil as early as circa 1560.[1] The work of these leading missionaries was not confined to exclusive educational methods ; they made great use of the popular media of instruction that are the theatre and the printed word.

Printing was one of their best allies in the propagation of the Gospel as well as in the spread of literacy, and in spite of what has been said at times to minimise the value

[1] S. G. PERERA, S. J., *The Jesuits in Ceylon*, p. 18, De Nobili Press, Madura, 1941 ;. D. FERROLI, S. J., *The Jesuits in Malabar*, Vol. 1, Bangalore Press, Bangalore City, 1939.

of their contribution to Indian letters and to typography because their motive was religious preaching, the contribution of missionaries to educational methods, to linguistics and language study, to lexicography, and to literature has not been as yet adequately assessed in the overall history of learning in India and Ceylon.[2] Because their motive was the propagation and the preservation of a particular religion, their contribution to education and literature is not to be underestimated.

The introduction of printing into India was itself of great educational and social significance. In 1556 the Jesuits in Goa opened the first printing press in India with Latin types brought from Europe.[3] But during this period the Goa press did its printing in Latin and Portuguese. The first Tamil booklet, however, appeared in Lisbon in the year 1554, two years before the printing press was introduced into India. The Roman script was used throughout the booklet to reproduce Tamil texts. The first known Tamil types were cast in the year 1577 at Goa but they were obviously not satisfactory, and hence a second and satisfactory attempt at casting Tamil types was made in Quilon in the year 1578, and a book of prayers and catechetical instructions printed in Quilon on 20th October 1578. With this booklet of 16 pages entitled *Doctrina Christam* or *Tambiran Vaṇakkam* (தம்பிரான் வணக்கம்), Tamil became the first Indian and Ceylonese language in which books were printed.

The establishment of the printing presses and the publication of these books were occasions for a justifiable pride in the Tamil districts. The Tamil Christians of the Fishery Coast contributed very liberally to the establishment of the first printing presses,[4] and the first

2 AMERICO CORTEZ PINTO, *Da famosa Arte da Imprimissao*, esp. p. 297 ff., Editora "Ulisseia" Limitada, Lisbon, 1948.

3 GEORG SCHURHAMMER, S. J., G. W. COTTRELL, JR., *The First Printing in Indic Characters*, pp. 147-160, in *Harvard Library Bulletin*, Vol. VI, No. 2, Spring, 1952.

4 *ibi.*, p. 150.

books were received with great wonder, and bought and treasured both by Christians and non-Christians. An Indian poet even celebrated in verse the achievements of the invention which printed and multiplied books.[5] These facts which are gathered from the Jesuit letters and Francisco de Sousa's *Oriente Conquistado* find a singular confirmation in the Preface to the Tamil *Doctrina Christam* printed in Cochin in 1579. The Preface is written in the name of the missionaries of the Fishery Coast and addressed to the Christians of the Fishery Coast as well as to other Christians whose language is Tamil. "You have desired to have several books which will teach you and your descendants the path to heaven and therefore you have contributed large sums of money towards the press. Therefore we are giving you this book as a gift. Because you spent large sums of money and established a press you have gained respect and praise before the world":

> உஙகளுககுமுஙகளசநததிகளுககுஞசொறகததுககுபபொறவழி
> படிபபிககததககபலபலபொததகஙகளசசிலெயுணடாககவேணு
> மெனறுவனெகமுதலசசுணடாககசசிலவளிதீரகளெயாகையினாலி
> நதபபொததகமுஙகளுககுநனகொடையாகவாவிடடொமனெக
> முதலசிலவளிததுவசசுணடாககிவிதததினாலெசஙகையுஙகீரததி
> யுமுலொகாமுனபாகபபெறறீர்களெ

The passage shows to some extent that punctuation and dots above mute consonants had not come into use, and the script reforms of Beschi were yet to be made. The orthography of the period may be seen from the printed pages reproduced in the plates. The non-Christians had not merely bought or admired the books; some of their learned men had collaborated with the European author in the revision of the language and style of this early pioneer Christian literature in Tamil.[6]

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5 FRANCISCO DE SOUSA, S J, *Oriente Conquistado a Jesus Christo pelos Padres de Companhia de Jesus da Provincia de Goa*, Vol II, pp 256-257, Lisbon, 1710, AMERICO CORTEZ PINTO, *Da famosa Arte*, op cit, pp 368-369

6 See Preface to *Doctrina Christam*, Cochin, 1579: . "தமிழை நன்றாயறிந்த சில கல்விமான்களைக் கொண்டு தமிழுக்கு நன்றா

The date of the introduction of printing in the Tamil country is rather significant when considered with other comparable dates. The first printing by Europeans in China was in 1584 and in Japan in 1590, in the Philippines in 1593 The first printed book which has come to light from the New World is a *Doctrina* in Spanish, Quichua and Aymara printed in Lima, Peru, in 1584, though a *Doctrina* in Aztec and Spanish of which no specimen has yet been found, is believed to have been printed in Mexico City in 1539 The first printing for an African language seems to have been done for Congolese in 1624 and on the same lines as the Tamil Brochure (Cartilha) printed in Lisbon in the year 1554 Russia printed its first book in 1563, Constantinople had its first press in 1727, and Greece in 1821 Thus the Tamil printed books of the 16th century seem to be the earliest samples of printing along Western lines undertaken outside of the European continent and its immediate neighbourhood[7]

THE FOUR PRINTED COPIES

There has been and continues to be a great deal of conjecture and confusion about the character and content of the first books printed in an Indian language and about the dates and the location of the first presses on Indian soil Now, however, after the finding and identification of four specimen copies of Tamil publications printed in the

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யிணங்கத்தக்க சில வாத்தைசாவை தீர்த்துக் கொணடு இடறுகள் வராமல் அநேகமெல்லாந் தெணடித்தார் ".

Preface to *Flos Sanctorum* 1586 "agora nuevamente en este ano di 86 se imprimio esto libro di la vida de los sanctos las quales communiqui con algunos naturales que saben y entienden bien esta lengua, y porque estas vidas saliessen bien apuradas gaste en las tresladar en esta lengua mas de tres anos"

7 See references to early printing in the works quoted above of AMERICO CORTEZ PINTO, *Da famosa Arte,* and GEORG SCHURHAMMER and G W COTTRELL, *The first printing in India characters,* o c, cf S H STEINBERG, *Five hundred years of Printing* Penguins Ltd, Harmondsworth Middlesex (England), 1955 The Welsh Bible was printed in 1588 and the first book in Irish was published in 1571

sixteenth century more precise data is available regarding the place of printing, their authorship and the circumstances of their composition.

1. *Cartilha*: pp. 38, Germano Galhardo, Lisbon, 11th February, 1554.

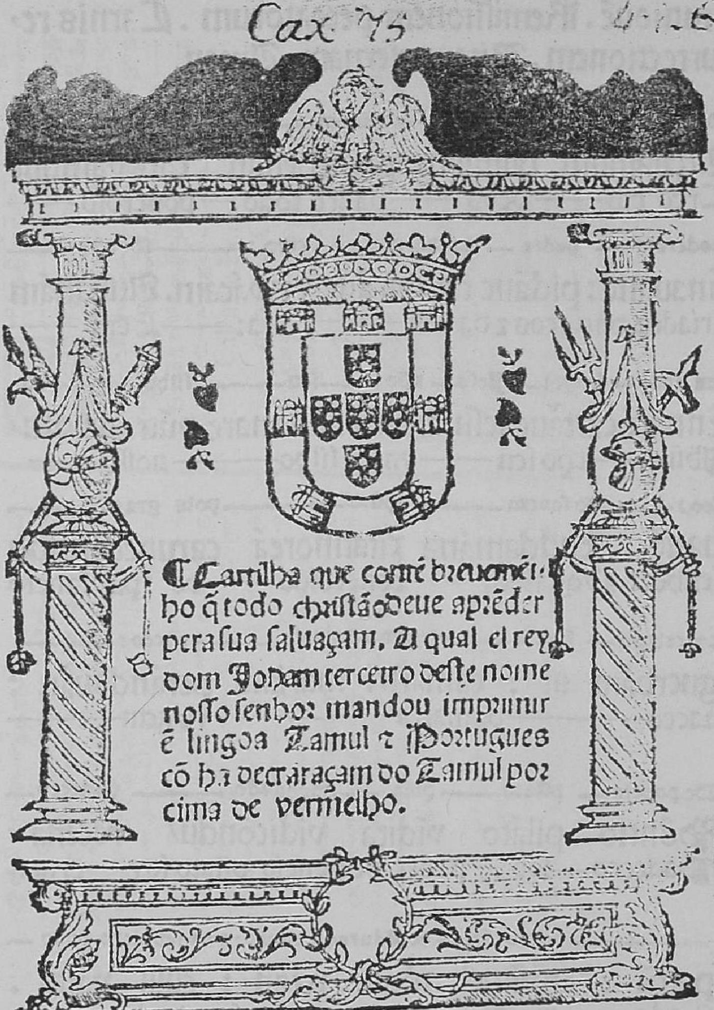
The entire title of the brochure as it appears in the title page is "Cartilha che conte breuemente ho q todo Christo deue apreder pera sua saluaçam, A qual el rey Dom Joham tercero deste nome nosso senhor mandou imprimir e lingoa Tamul e Portugues co ha decraracam do Tamul por cima de vermelho". "Brochure which contains in brief all that a Christian should know for his salvation and which our lord the King Dom John the third of that name ordered to be printed in the Tamil language and in Portuguese with the Tamil meaning printed above in red".

This particular copy which is now kept in an iron safe of the Ethnological Museum of Doctor Leile de Vasconcellos at Belem, Lisbon, originally belonged to the Library of the Carthusian monastery of *Scala Caeli* of Evora. The copy was presented to the Library by the Jesuit Theotonio de Braganca (1536-1602) a distinguished scholar who was born in Coimbra, educated in Rome and Paris and who as Archbishop of Evora founded this Carthusian monastery of Scala Coeli in 1598. A handwritten note on the copy supplies the information that the copy was his gift to the Carthusian Library.[8] When later the monastery was disbanded this copy may have gone to the Torre do Tombo, for at the beginning of the twentieth century it was in possession of Jose Bastos, a former director of Torre do Tombo. In 1909 it was found in the hands of an illiterate person from whom Dr. Vasconcellos bought the copy for his Ethnological museum.[9]

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8 "Livro da Cartuxa de Scala Caeli deg. Illmo et Revmo Sor D. Theotonio de Braganca, Archbpo de Evora, che fez donacao e foy fundador da mesma casa"

9 See article on this booklet by SOUSA VITERBO in the daily, *Diario de Noticias*, March 16, 1909, also *Diccionario Bibliogra-*



Frontispicio da Cartilha de leitura e doutrina em lingua Tamul e Português, admiravel specimen da aplicação das artes gráficas ao ensino das linguas

Plate I

Frontispiece of the *Cartilha* printed in Lisbon in 1554

muniouẽ. Remissionem peccatorum. Carnis resurrectionem. Vitam eternam. Amen.

Dos ceos —— e da terra — criador: —— todo ——

Agájamũm bũmium paradɥeuán çiravamũm
Creo em —— deos —— padre todo — poderoso ——

poderoso — padre — em deos — creo: —— E assy ——

ánauanè: pidáue tambiráne vizvácam. Auuanám
criador dos ceos e da —— terra: —— E em ——

em nosso — senhor — Jesu — xpo — seu —— filho. —— hũ

ènnarè cartãue iesu christo auuanarè pũtrane oru-
Jhũ —— xpo seu —— unico filho —— nosso ——

soo: —— Do sancto —— spũ —— pois graça ——

uanç. Xuddamána xitatinoreá carunecónddu
senhor: O qual foy —— concebido —— do spũ sancto

concebido — foy —— da virgem — maria —— naceo: ——

guerbám si: caniástri mariatil perándauán:
naceo —— de maria —— —— virgem —: ——

De poncio — pilato —— pois —— mandado —— padeceo —

Pôntio pilato vidita vidicóndu/ vecena-
Padeceo — sob — poder de poncio pilato foy — cruci-

—— na cruz foi — dependurado morto: e no sepulcro posto —

pattũ: crũsimel tũqui xetán: culil váitu:
ficado —— morto — e —— sepultado; ——

PLATE II

Sample page of the Cartilha with Romanised Tamil, the Portuguese version, and inter-linear word for word Portuguese rendering (in the original in red)

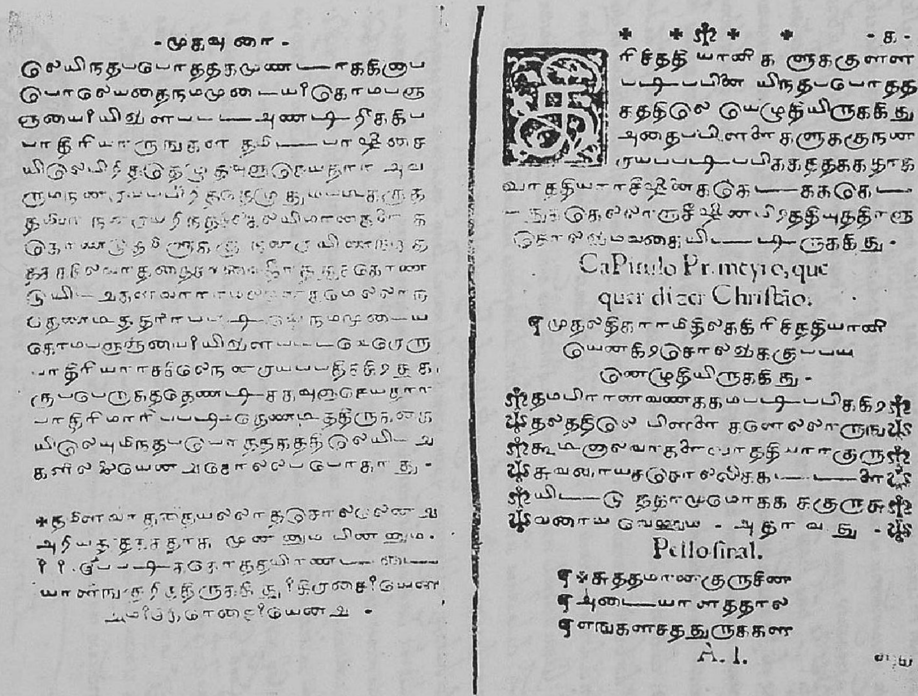
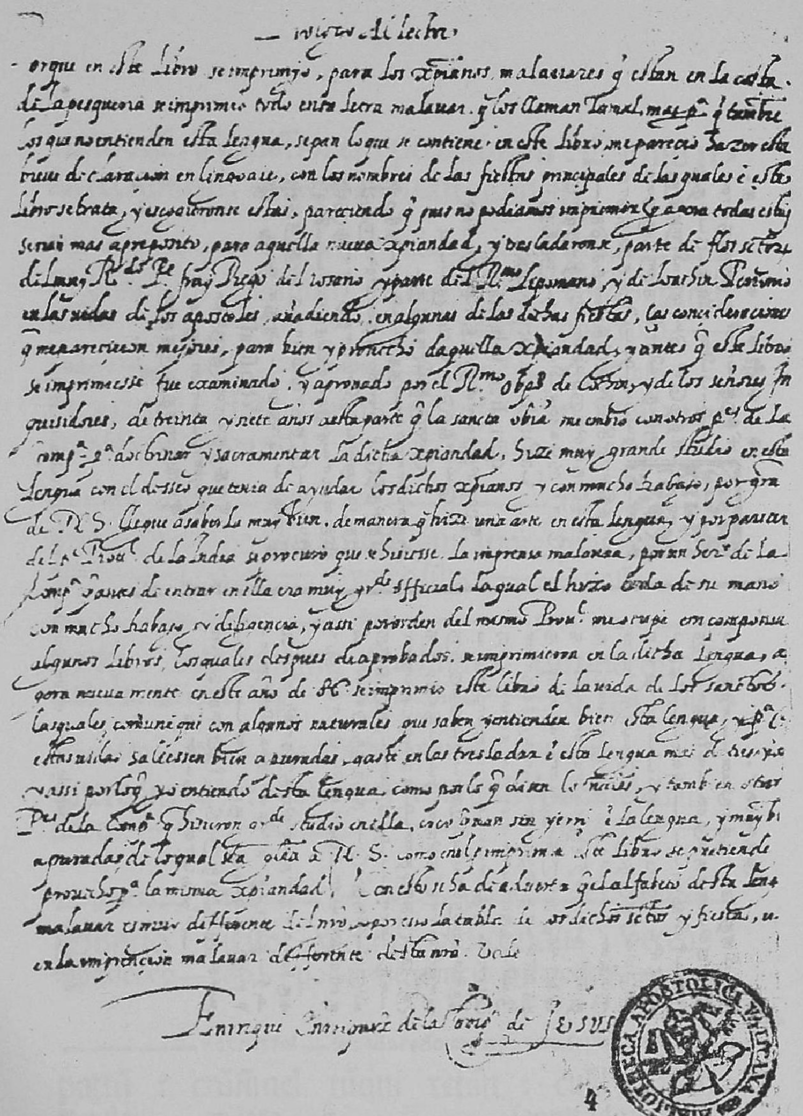


PLATE III
Sample pages of the Catechism printed in Cochin in 1579.



— [illegible] al lector

[P]orque en este libro se imprimio, para los xpianos malavares q estan en la costa de la pesqueria se imprimio todo en la letra malavar. q los llaman Tamul, mas p.ª q tambien los q no entienden esta lengua, sepan lo que se contiene en este libro me parecio hazer esta breve declaracion en lingoaje, con los nombres de las fiestas principales de las quales e este libro se trata, y escrivironse estas, pareciendo q pues no podiamos imprimir y agora todas esto seria mas a proposito, para aquella nueva xpiandad, y trasladaronse, parte de flos sctorũ del muy R.do P.e fray Pedro del rosario y parte del R.mo Lipomano, y de los de S. Jeronimo en las vidas de los apostoles, añadiendo, en algunas de las dichas fiestas, las consideraciones q me parecieron mejores, para bien y provecho daquella xpiandad, y antes q este libro se imprimiesse fue examinado, y aprovado por el R.mo obpo de Cochim, y de los señores In quisidores, de treinta y siete anos a esta parte q la sancta obia me embio con otros p.es de la comp.ª p.ª doctrinar y sacramentar la dicha xpiandad, hize muy grande studio en esta lengua con el desseo que tenia de ayudar los dichos xpianos y con mucho trabajo, por gra de N. S. llegue a saber la muy bien, de manera q hize una arte en esta lengua, y por parecer del p.e Prov.l de la India se procuro que se hiziesse la imprenta malavar, por un her.º de la comp.ª q antes de entrar en ella era muy gr.de official, la qual el hizo toda de su mano con mucho trabajo y diligencia, y assi por orden del mismo Prov.l me ocupe en componer algunos libros, los quales despues de aprobados se imprimieron en la dicha lengua, a gora nuevamente en este año de 86 se imprimio este libro de la vida de los santos. los quales comunique con algunos naturales que saben y entienden bien esta lengua, y p.ª q estos libros saliessen bien a[c]ertados, gaste en los trasladar e esta lengua mas de diez y [i]e y assi por lo q yo entiendo desta lengua como por lo q dizen los naturales, y tamb.en otros P.es de la Comp.ª q hizieron gr.de studio en ella, creo saran sin yerro e la lengua, y muy bi e puradas de lo qual sea glia a N. S. como en el se imprima este libro se pretende provecho p.ª la misma xpiandad. Con esto se ha de advertir q el alfabeto desta leng.ª malavar tiene differencia del nro, por eso va la tabla de los dichos sctos y fiestas, [i]n en la impression malavar de[s]forme del nro. Vale

Enrique Enriquez de la Comp.ª de Jesus

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PLATE IV

The Spanish Prologue (handwritten) of the Vatican Copy of the *Flos Sanctorum*, printed in Punnaikayil (?) in 1586.

In 1948 this copy received publicity by the prominence it received in a work on the history of printing in Portugal. Americo Cortez Pinto was gathering material for his work *Da famosa Arte da Imprimissao* when he happened to mention to Professor Manuel Heleno, the present director of the Ethnological Museum of Belem that he had not come across a rare sample of printing which was mentioned in ancient bibliographies like Innocencio da Silva's *Bibliographia Lusitana* but which even the ancient bibliographers had not seen Professor Heleno invited him to see the copy of a rare book he had in the iron safe of his museum and the identification was made Cortez Pinto has devoted a few pages to the description of this unique specimen and has reproduced in colour four pages of this booklet A manuscript copy of this brochure is said to be in the municipal library of Oporto[10]

The present writer examined the copy during a brief visit to Lisbon in June, 1954, but did not take very detailed notes since he expected photostats to be sent to him of the booklet for study So far he has not been successful in his attempts to obtain photostats or a microfilm of the copy. Even the reproductions in Cortez Pinto's book do not do justice to the magnificent specimen of printing and language study that is the Tamil *Cartilha* of 1554

2 *Doctrina Christam en Lingua Malauar Tamul* or தம்பிரான் வணக்கம், pp 16 , Collegio do Saluador, Quilon, 20 February, 1577.

This booklet of prayers and rudiments of the faith was entirely unknown to scholars until it was bought by Harvard College and a study was published in the Harvard Library Bulletin in the spring of 1952 The present writer

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fico Portuguez, Vol II, p 216 , Vol VII, pp 433, 434 , ANTONIO JOAQUIM ANSELMO, *Bibliografia das obras impresas em Portugal no secolo* XVI, No 650, Lisbon 1926 , AMERICO CORTEZ PINTO, *Da famosa Arte*, op cit , pp 357-359 and Plates XVII-XX

10 ANTONIO JOAQUIM ANSELMO, *Bibliografia das obras impresas em Portugal no secolo XVI*, op cit No 650

obtained a photostat copy of the booklet by courtesy of G. W. Cottrell Jr., Librarian at Harvard. This Harvard copy is the earliest example of printing in the characters of one of the languages of India and the earliest available example of printing executed in India in an Indian language.

The copy was sent from India to Rome and received in November, 1579, presumably by Father Pedro de Fonseca, S.J. (1527-1599) who was in Rome (1573-81) as Assistant for Portugal to the General of the Jesuit Order. A legend in ink reads "Portata dall'India. Hauuta dal pre Fonseca del mese di Novembre M.D. LXXIX". The copy seems to have been in one of the Jesuit Colleges of Siena until the suppression of the Jesuit Order in 1773, and then in the Fideikommissbibliothek in Vienna of the Princes of Liechtenstein. Recently it passed into the European and American book markets and was purchased in January 1951 for the Harvard College Library from William H. Robinson Ltd., of London.[11]

3. *Doctrina Christam* : கிரீசித்தியானி வணக்கம், pp. 120, Collegio da Madre de Deos, Cochin, 14 November, 1579.

This copy which was in the Library of the Sorbonne and bore the stamp "Bibliotheque de l'Université de France", was recorded by Fr. Robert Streit, O.M.I. in 1928.[12] Subsequently the copy has disappeared from the Sorbonne; it was probably misplaced or taken away during the second world war. Fortunately, while it was yet available at the Sorbonne, a photostat copy had been made for the Jesuit scholar, Fr. Georg Schurhammer, the authority on St. Francis Xavier and his times, and that photostat copy was presented by him to Bishop Francis

11 GEORG SCHURHAMMER and G. W. COTTRELL, *The first printing in Indic characters*, o.c. contains a description of this booklet.

12 ROBERT STREIT, *Bibliotheca Missionum*, IV, 145.

T. Roche, S.J., of Tuticorin who in turn presented it to the present writer in 1951. It was this copy which was loaned to Harvard for purposes of study and microfilming in 1952 and now continues to be in the possession of the present writer.

Copies of this *Doctrina* were found in circulation in South India as late as 1732, for Sartorius, the Danish missionary, in his Diary for 1732 mentions having seen a copy of this book at Pulicat and another at Tranquebar.[13]

4. *Flos Sanctorum o Libro de las vidas di algunos santos trasladas en lengua malavar*, pp. 669, (Tuticorin or Punnaikayil), 1586.

The present writer identified a copy of this book in June 1954 in the manuscript section of the Vatican Library. Various writers have given different dates for the *Flos Sanctorum* printed in the Fishery Coast, but from the ecclesiastical calendar given at the end of the book it may be reasonably supposed that it was printed in or before 1587. The Calendar which gives the dates for Ash Wednesday, Easter Sunday etc., begins with the year 1587 and continues on the same page for each successive year until 1614. The Spanish preface by the author leaves no doubt regarding the date since it clearly states that after having had some books (*algunos libros*) printed earlier, finally in the year '86 was printed " this book of the Lives of the Saints ". The author also says in the same preface that he has been working in the Fishery Coast for 37 years. Henriques arrived at Goa in 1546 and at the Fishery Coast after a year or two. Hence if he had arrived at the Fishery Coast in 1548 or 1549, the evidence of the preface tallies. The intervening period between the *Doctrina* of 1579 and the *Flos Sanctorum* of 1587 would have given him sufficient time for the composition and printing of what was a monumental work for its time, a book of 669 pages.

13 See C. E. K., *Notes on Early Printed Tamil Books*, in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. II (1873), pp. 180-181, and *Early Printing in India*, p. 98.

Unfortunately the Vatican copy does not possess the title and introductory pages in Tamil which certainly should have been in the original copy and which would have given the precise dates and place of printing. Instead there is a brief introduction and a table of contents in Spanish written in ink. These hand-written pages may have been substituted in the specimen copy or copies which were despatched to Europe.

The provenance of this Vatican copy is not exactly known. Fr. S. G. Perera, S.J., in his *Jesuits in Ceylon* when listing the works of Fr. Henrique Henriques says: " A copy in Tamil of his " Vitae Christi Domini, Beatissimae Virginis et aliorum Sanctorum " sent to Rome in 1602 is now in the " Bibliotheca Vaticana ".[14] Fr. S. G. Perera was not able to give me the source of this information nor were the Vatican Librarians aware of any such title. For certain reasons I am disposed to believe that the book mentioned by Fr. S. G. Perera is the *Flos Sanctorum* under a more descriptive title. There is a handwritten note on a fly-leaf of this Vatican copy of the *Flos Sanctorum*: " se dar alla biblioteca Vaticana ".

AUTHORSHIP

1. *Cartilha of* 1554:

The prologue of the brochure was written by three Indians then living in Lisbon. Their names are given as Vicente de Nazareth, Jorge Carvalho, and Thoma da Cruz. They were responsible for the translations and transliteration. The usual sources do not furnish any other information regarding them.

Their work, however, according to the prologue, was supervised by Fra Joam de Vila de Conde. Fra Joam is the renowned Franciscan who was Guardian of the Order in Colombo and who figured prominently in the affairs of

[14] S. G. PERERA, *The Jesuits in Ceylon*, o.c., p. 157.

Ceylon in the middle of the sixteenth century. That Fra Joam was familiar with a Tamil milieu is evident from a multiplicity of circumstances. He travelled in the Tamil parts of Ceylon and India and kept up correspondence with missionaries in these parts.[15] In a speech at the Court of Bhuvanaike Bahu (1521-1551), King of Kotte (Ceylon), Fra Joam cites the *Tirukkural* as one of the works with which the King and court and he are familiar.[16] A Tamil Christian community among whom the Franciscans worked existed in Colombo in the sixteenth century. A Tamil-speaking Catholic poet living in Colombo composed a prose catechism to be chanted and some canticles to be sung under the inspiration of Fra Joam, and Fra Joam sent to Mannar from Colombo " a priest of the country well-versed in Tamil " to help Fr. Henriques in the earlier period of his Tamil studies.[17]

2. *The Doctrina Christam* (தம்பிரான் வணக்கம்) of 1577 was made, as a printed note in Portuguese, says in the booklet by Fr. Anrique Anriquez (same as Henrique Henriques) of the Society of Jesus and by Father Manuel of St. Peter. The latter was evidently a native secular priest since he is not designated as belonging to the Society of Jesus : *Doctrina Christaa tresladada em linqua Tamul pello padre Anrique Anriquez de Copanhia de Jesu & pello padre Manoel de Sao Pedro.* The Tamil title, however, bears the sole name of Father Henriques S.J. The omission of the name of the second author may have been merely because of the restricted space available below the block on the front page. The Tamil title reads :

கொமபஞ்ஞிய தெ செசூ வகையிலணடிறிககிப
பாதிரியாா தமிழிலெ பிறிதெழுதின தமபிரான வணககம

15 See P. E. PIERIS and M. A. H. FITZLER, *Ceylon and Portugal*, Vol. I, Verlag der Asia Minor, Leipzig, 1927 ; G. SCHURHAMMER, *Ceylon zu Zeit des konigs Bhuvaneka Bahu und Franz Xavers*, 2 Vols., Leipzig, 1928.

16 FERNAO DE QUEYROZ, *The Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon*, Book II, p. 241, Colombo Government Press, 1930.

17 S. G. PERERA, *The Jesuits in Ceylon*, o.c., passim.

In today's characters and mode of writing it should read :

கொம்பஞ்ஞிய தெ சேசு வகையில் அண்டிறிக் பாதிரியார்
தமிழிலே பிரித்தெழுதின தம்பிரான் வணக்கம்

No information other than that provided in the note on authorship is available about Fr. Manuel of St. Peter. He was obviously one of the Tamil-speaking secular priests who since the coming of the Portuguese were being trained at Goa and then sent back to their districts of origin. One of Father Henrique's helpers in the study of Tamil and in the composition of his books was Father Pero Luis, S.J., the first Brahmin to become a Jesuit. His name, however, does not occur as a joint-author in any of the printed books which are available to us.

It is suggested that this Quilon Catechism of 1578 is basically the Catechism which St. Francis Xavier had earlier prepared in Portuguese (1542) and in Tamil (1544) and which in turn had been prepared by St. Francis Xavier on the *Doctrina* published by Joam de Barros in Portugal (1539). If that be so, it should have been subject to extensive revision both by Francis Xavier and subsequently by Father Henriques.[18]

Father Henrique Henriques, S.J., the principal compiler of the Tamil books published in the 16th century was a student of law at the University of Coimbra when he joined the Society of Jesus in 1545 at the age of about 25. He reached Goa in 1546 and the following year was sent to the Fishery Coast. On the advice of Francis Xavier he set himself to the study of the Tamil language " day and night " as he says. From his first days on the Fishery Coast (at Tuticorin and Punnaikayil) he commenced a systematic study of the Tamil language modelled on the Latin Grammar of Joam de Barros, and as early as 1552 compiled a Tamil Grammar in Portuguese which he sent

[18] GEORG SCHURHAMMER and G. W. COTTRELL, JR., *The first printing in Indic characters*, o.c., p. 157.

to Rome with a request that it be printed. He was resident at Mannar from 1561 to 1564 and baptized a chieftain from Trincomalie whom the Portuguese intended to put on the throne of Jaffna. He took pleasure in meeting Hindus and Moslems and in discoursing with them on religious matters, as well as in consulting non-Christian learned men regarding the style and language of his Tamil manuscripts. Besides the three books mentioned in this article, he repeatedly says in his letters that he was compiling for print—

(a) A Grammar of the Tamil language.

(b) A Vocabulary of Tamil words and terms.

It is not yet precisely known how many of his books were printed in the 16th century. In his preface to the *Flos Sanctorum* he says that before 1586 " algunos libros " (some books) had been published in Tamil.[19]

3. *Doctrina Christam* (கிரீசித்தியானி வணக்கம்) Cochin, 1579.

This book in the authentic style of a catechism with questions and answers is the translation into Tamil of the Portuguese work of Marcos Jorge, S.J., a very popular catechism which was first published in Lisbon in 1566 and which continued to be the standard of its type until it was supplanted early in the seventeenth century by the *Doctrina* of St. Robert Bellarmine. The Preface states that the learned Marcos Jorge of the Society of Jesus published this catechism and since then Christians both in Portugal and other kingdoms have benefited by it to a great extent. That the Tamil-speaking Christians might derive the same benefits, this book was being published in Tamil.

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19 For particulars regarding Fr. Henriques, see *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu*, IOSEPHUS WICKI, *Documenta Indica* in which the letters of H. Henriques are reproduced. See also XAVIER S. THANI NAYAGAM, *Tamil Manuscripts in European Libraries*, in *Tamil Culture*, Vol. III (1954), pp. 219-220, and BSOAS, Vol. III, p. 147.

This translation of Marcos Jorge came to be used very widely in India and Ceylon. Catechetical instruction was imparted in a very thorough manner by the Jesuits in Jaffna in the seventeenth century so that it was said that the children in the mission of Jaffna were "the best instructed in the whole of the East". Copies of the Tamil catechism were obviously used there in 1644 when Figureydo wrote: "They are all so well instructed by our Fathers that there is scarcely a boy or a girl who does not know the catechism thoroughly, besides the whole book of Marcos Jorge which has been translated into their language".[20]

4. *Flos Sanctorum*, 1586:

The handwritten preface in Spanish found in the Vatican copy of the *Flos Sanctorum* gives many interesting details regarding the authorship of this work. Since it was not necessary for this new community of Christians to have a very elaborate and complete "Lives of Saints", Father Henriques chose those lives which seemed most relevant to a new Christian community. Hence he translated part of the *Flos Sanctorum* of the Friar Diego del Rosario and part of the *Flos Sanctorum* of Lipomani and the *Lives of the Apostles* by Perion. He also added, where it seemed relevant, reflections and observations suited to the readers. He had laboured 37 years among those who spoke Tamil and had written "algunos libros" which after approval had been printed. Finally in 1586 he was publishing the *Flos Sanctorum* after having worked at it for more than three years. In revising it he had consulted "algunos naturales que saben y entienden bien esta lengua" ("some natives well-versed in this language").

Details are available regarding the primary sources of the *Flos Sanctorum*. Friar Diego del Rosario published in Coimbra in 1577 a revised version of his *Historia das vidas e feitos heroycos e obras insignes dos sanctos, com muitos*

[20] S. G. PERERA, *The Jesuits in Ceylon*, o.c., p. 157.

sermoes e praticas spirituais que servem a muytas festas do anno. This revised edition should have been available to Father Henriques. The second work which he used was the *Sanctorum priscorum patrum vitae centum sexaginta tres,* one of the first scientific volumes of hagiography. The author was Luigi Lippomano, an Italian, who published this work of eight volumes, first in Venice in 1551 and then in Rome in 1560. The third work he mentions in the Prologue is *De rebus gestis vitisque Apostolorum liber* compiled by the French Benedictine, Joachim Perion, and published in Paris in 1551.[21]

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. Cartilha of 1554.

Page 1 : Title page with the coat of arms of King Joam III.

Pages 2-3 : Prologue by the three Tamil Christians.

Page 4 : Indications regarding transliteration and the phonetic peculiarities to be observed in the pronunciation and accentuation of Tamil in Roman script.

Pages 6-34 : Per signum Sanctae Crucis, the Pater Noster, Ave Maria, Credo (Apostles Creed), The Ten Commandments, the Commandments of the Church, the Seven Capital Sins, the Seven Capital Virtues, the Confiteor, the Prayers at the Foot of the Altar and other important responses of the Mass (these last are printed only in Latin).

End : "The present work was printed by order of the King Our Lord in the very noble and ever loyal city of Lisbon and seen by the holy inquisition : printed by Germano Galhardo, printer to His Highness. 2nd of February, 1554. Laus Deo."

The method employed in this brochure of a trilinear printing of the Romanised Tamil version, the Portuguese version, and a word to word Portuguese rendering corresponding to the Romanised Tamil version has been praised as the first introduction in print of such an effective method

21 See JOSEPH WICKI, *O "Flos Sanctorum" do P. H. Henriques, Impresso no Lingua Tamul em* 1586, in *Bulletin do Instituto Wasco da Gama,* No. 73 (1956), pp. 43-49, Goa.

in foreign language study. Further, the printing in two colours in order to facilitate quick comprehension of the meaning of the Tamil version through the corresponding Portuguese words printed in red above the Tamil version is again a novel didactic introduction for its time[22] — an anticipation of Comenius by a hundred years. The Romanised Tamil version is printed in black in large type; below the Romanised Tamil version is the Portuguese version in black but in smaller type, and above the Romanised Tamil version is a word for word Portuguese rendering of the Tamil text.

2. *The Doctrina Christam of* 1578 is printed in Tamil and shows that doctrinal and liturgical material has been added to what was the content of missionary instruction about 1554. It consists of 16 pages of conventional octavo.

Page 1: Title in Portuguese and Tamil and woodcut of the Holy Trinity worshipped by saints and martyrs.

Page 2: Note regarding authorship and transliteration of foreign words.

Pages 3-14: Per signum *sanctae crucis*, *Credo*, *The* Ten Commandments, the Commandments of the Church, Pater Noster, Ave Maria, Salve Regina, Confiteor, The Articles of Faith, The Capital Sins, The Works of Mercy (Corporal and Spiritual), The Five Senses, The *Theological* Virtues, The Cardinal Virtues, The Enemies of the Soul, The Last Things, The Eight Beatitudes. These different titles are prominently printed in Portuguese.

Page 15: Contains a *note of typographical* interest. It is a type-specimen page of which the first lines reproduce specimens of Tamil types, 7 vowels, ஔ and 94 consonants, and vowel-consonants cast in Goa in 1557. The latter half of the page reproduces eight vowels, ஔ and *116 consonants*, vowel-consonants, and double consonants. These consonants are followed by a line of Tamil numerals from *one to ten and the symbols for* one hundred and one thousand.

[22] AMERICO CORTEZ PINTO, *Da famosa Arte da Imprimissao*, o.c., p. 297 ff.

These types are said in the last page to have been cast in Quilon in 1579 and are the types used for this *Doctrina Christam*. The types cast in Quilon are executed with greater skill, are more numerous and more precise than the Goa types. The Quilon prefers "ச" to "ஜ" which is found in the Goa type. No work, however, printed in the Goa type has come to light. This page shows the advance in technique made within a year in the art of casting Tamil types.

3. *Doctrina Christam* (கிரீசித்தியானி வணக்கம்) of 1579 consists of 120 pages.

The front page contains a large block of the traditional Jesuit Abbreviation of IHS with rays emanating from the circle containing the letters. The title has changed from *Tambiran Vanakkam*, (God worship) to *Krisitiani Vanakkam* (Christian worship) which is certainly an improvement.

Page ii (unnumbered) : Contains a note in Portuguese on the author, place of printing, etc.

Pages iii-vi : Introduction.

Chapter I : The significance of the name Christian, pp. 1-6.

Chapter II : The significance of the Holy Cross, pp. 6-12.

Chapter III : The Pater Noster, pp. 12-22.

Chapter IV : The Ave Maria, pp. 22-27.

Chapter V : The Salve Regina, pp. 27-35.

Chapter VI : The Credo, pp. 36-42.

Chapter VII : The Articles of Faith, pp. 42-58.

Chapter VIII : The Commandments of God, pp. 58-74.

Chapter IX : The Commandments of Holy Mother the Church, pp. 74-86.

Chapter X : The Seven Capital Sins, pp. 86-96.

Chapter XI: The Seven Sacraments, pp. 97-103.

Chapter XII : The Works of Mercy (Spiritual and Corporal) and the Theological Virtues, Cardinal Virtues, The Eight Beatitudes, The Confiteor, pp. 103-12.

The book ends with a square IHS Block around which are printed the words : இந்த நாமமிலலா மலொருதரு மீடெறவொணாளைது

4. *Flos Sanctorum* :

While the other three publications limit themselves to the prayers and the articles of faith and the explanation of basic doctrines, the *Flos Sanctorum* represents the more ambitious attempt to publish in Tamil a sustained work of considerations of the principal mysteries and feasts, and the lives of the principal saints of the Church's Calendar. As a single work of considerations on the principal feasts of the year, it does not seem that this work of 669 pages has been greatly surpassed in Catholic Tamil Literature during the last four hundred years.

The Tamil title page and the contents in Tamil are not to be found in the Vatican copy. There are, however, four pages of a handwritten introduction in Spanish and the table of contents in Spanish. Since the first page of the Tamil text has the Arab numeral "8" printed in a corner, it is probable that seven pages of printed introductory matter preceded the text.

The following is a table of contents prepared by the writer from the titles and other data furnished in the book.

January :

February :

March :

April :

May :

St. Philip, Apostle (pp. 113-116) ; St. James the Less (117-121) ; The Finding of the Holy Cross (122-128).

June :

St. Anthony of Padua (pp. 129-146) ; St. Paulinus of Nola (147-151) ; St. Sophia (151-156) ; St. John the Baptist (157-165) ; St. Peter the Apostle (165-181) ; St. Paul the Apostle (181-205).

July :

St. Felicity and her Seven Children (pp. 205-208) ; St. Alexis (209-218) ; St. Margaret (218-224) ; St. Eustachius (224-234) ; St. Mary Magdalene (234-241) ; St. Christina (242-246) ; St. James Major (246-258) ; St. Chrysostom (258-263) ; The Seven Sleepers of Ephesus (265-271).

August :

St. Dominic (pp. 272-287) ; St. Mary of Snows (287-291) ; St. Lawrence (291-301) ; The Feast of the Assumption (301-307) ; St. Bernard (307-315) ; St. Bartholomew Ap. (315-321) ; St. Gunasius (322-326) ; St. Augustine of Hippo (326-333).

September :

The Nativity of the B.V.M. (333-341) ; St. Hadrian (341-352) ; St. Eugenia (352-364) ; The Exaltation of the Holy Cross (364-369) ; St. Mathew Ap. and Evangelist (369-375) ; St. Michael Archangel (375-380).

October :

St. Jerome (pp. 380-387) ; St. Francis of Assisi (387-406) ; Sts. Simon and Jude Thaddeus (406-414).

November :

Feast of All Saints (pp. 414-423) ; All Souls Day (423-428) ; St. Martin of Tours (429-441) ; St. Cecilia (441-452) ; St. Catherine of Alexandria (453-465) ; St. Andrew (465-482).

December :

St. Nicholas (pp. 482-498) ; St. Lucia (498-504) ; St. Thomas Ap. (504-516) ; The Nativity of Our Lord (516-524) ; St. Stephen (524-532) ; St. John the Apostle (532-545) ; St. Sylvester (545-557).

Movable Feasts :

Ash Wednesday and Lent (pp. 558-565) ; The Passion of Our Lord (566-608) ; The Resurrection (609-616) ; The Ascension (616-622) ; Pentecost (623-636) ; Corpus Christi (636-645) : Advent (645-651) ; The Last Judgement (652-661).

List of Holy Days of obligation, and of days of fasting and abstinence (pp. 662-666) ; Calendar of Movable Feasts from A.D. 1587-1614 (666-669).

Note : The original has the Tamil numerals printed on each leaf in serial order, but not on each page.

The text of the handwritten Spanish prologue and table of contents in the Vatican "*Flos Sanctorum*".

Prologo Al Lector.

Porque en este libro se imprimyo' para los christianos malavares, que esta'n en la Costa de la Pesqueri'a. se imprimio todo en su letra malavar, que los llaman Tamul. Mas para que tambi'en los que no entienden esta lengua, sepan lo que se contiene en este libro, me parecio' hezer esta breve declaracio'n en lingoaje, con los nombres de las fiestas principales de las quales en este libro se trata. Y escogie'ronce e'stas, pareciendo que, pues no podi'amos imprimir por agora todas, e'stas seri'an ma's a prepo'sito para aquella neuva christiandad. Y translada'ronse, parte de Flos Sanctorum del R.^do^P.^e^ Fray Diego del Rosario, y parte del R.^mo^ Lipomano y de Joachi'n Perionio en las Vidas de los Apo'stoles, anadiendo, en algunas de las dichas fiestas, las concideraciones que me parecieron mejores para bien y provecho d'acuella christiandad.

Y antes que este libro se imprimiesse fue examinado y aprovado por el R.^mo^Obispo de Cochi'n [1] y de los senores Inquisidores.

De treinta y siete anos a esta parte que la sancta obediencia me embio' con otros Padres de la Compani'a, para doctrinar y sacramentar la dicha christiandad, hize muy grande studio en esta lengua con el desseo que teni'a de ayudar los dichos christianos, y con mucho trabajo, por gracia de N.Senor, llegue' a saberla muy bien, de manera que hize una arte en esta lengua. Y por parecer del P.^e^ Provincial de la India [2] se procuro' que se hisiesse la imprensa malavar por un Hermano de la Compani'a [3] que antes de entrar en ella era muy grande official, la

[1] D. Mateus de Medina, consecrated bishop of Cochin in 1577.
[2] A. Valignano, Provincial de Goa, 1583-1587.
[3] Joao Goncalves.

qual el hizo toda de su mano con mucho trabajo y diligencia. Y assi′ por orden del mismo Provincial me ocupe′ en componer algunos libros, los quales despues de aprobados se imprimieron en la dicha lengue. Agora nuevamente en este ano de 86 se imprimio este libro de la Vida de los Sanctos, las quales communique con algunos naturales que saben y entienden bien esta lengua. Y para que estas vidas saliessen bien apuradas gaste′ en las tresladar en esta lengua mas de tres anos, y assi por lo que yo entiendo desta lengua, como por lo que disen los naturales, y tambien otros Padres de la Compani′a que hisieron grande studio en ella, creo que van sin yerro en la lengua y muy bien apuradas, de lo qual sea gloria a N.Senor, como, en el imprimir este libro se pretiende provecho para la misma christiandad.

Con esto se ha de advertir que el alfabeto desta lengua malavar es muy differente del nuestro y por esso la tabla de los dichos Sanctos y fiestas van en la imprencio′n malavar differente desta neustra.

Vale

Enrrique Enrriquez de la Compani′a de Jes′us.
en lenguas malavar por el P.e Enrrique Enrri-
Libro de las vidas de algunos Sanctos transladadas
quez de la Compani′a de Jesus en que van las
vidas de los seguientes Sanctos.

A

Adviento de N. Senor
Andre′ apo′stol
Augustino
Adriano
Antonio
Apolonia
Alexo
Angeles
Agatha
Acencio′n de N. Senor
Asumpcio′n de N.a Senora

B

Blas
Benito
Bernardo
Bartholome′ apo′stol

C

Cathalina
Christina
Christo′val
Cecilia
Circuncicio′n de N. Senor
Comemoracio′n de los defuncto
Compacion de N.a Senora en la pasion de Christo

D

Domingo

E

Eustachio
Estevan
Eugenia
Epiphani′a
Encarnacio′n de N. Senor

F

Felippe apo'stol
Francisco
Feli'citas con los siete hijos

G

Gero'nymo

I

Juan apo'stol y vangelista
Juan Baptista
Invencio'n de la cruz
Juizio final
Ignatio

L

Lusi'a
Lorenço

M

Marti'n
Mari'a Magdelena
Mari'a egipsiaca
Margarita
Mathi'as apo'stol
Matheo apo'stol
Miguel Archa'ngel

N

Nascimiento de N. Senor
Nascimiento de la Virgen
N.ª Senora
Nuestra Senora de las Nieves
Nicola's

P

Pedro apo'stol
Pablo apo'stol
Paulino
Purificacio'n de N.ª Senora
Pacio'n de N. Senor

Q

Quaresma

R

Resurrectio'n de N. Senor
Santo Sacramento
Santiago mayor

S

Santo Sacramento
Santiago mayor
Santiago menor
Simonis y Judas
Silvestre
Spiritu Sancto
Sebastia'n con sus hijas
Siete Dormientes

T

Todolos Sanctos
Trinidad
Thome' apo'stol
Tays o Taide

V

Vicente

Reviews

TAMIL ENCYCLOPAEDIA, VOL. IV

Every Tamilian will rejoice over the publication of the 4th volume of the Tamil Encyclopaedia by the efficient and enterprising Tamil Valarchi Kazhagam. This volume is another refutation of the charge that the Tamil language is not capable of becoming the medium of instruction in the University classes. Articles on questions connected with Economics, Mathematics, Science, and Psychology are so rendered as to be easy to follow, though a few require close attention. Technical terms have been, in general, well translated. For instance, the Tamil equivalents for: Citizenship (குடிமை), Automatic Pistol (தானியங்கிக் கைத் துப்பாக்கி), Applied Psychology (செயல் முறை உளவியல்), Fixed and Floating Capital (அசையா, அசையும் முதல்), Instinct of Self-Preservation (தற்காப்பு இயல்பூக்கம்), Auto-Suggestion (தற்கருத் தேற்றம்) are, I think, acceptable.

It must however be pointed out that some other terms as: Civil right, Parliament, Indian Union have not been translated. And some of the articles smell of too literal a translation for the meaning of the Tamil sentences to be obvious even after repeated reading. Not all the articles, with all their wealth of information, give the impression of a well-planned piece of composition.

But these remarks should not withhold anyone from wholeheartedly congratulating the editor and his collaborators who have brought out this 4th Volume, which, with its erudite articles copiously illustrated, will give an all-round instruction to the public, as an encyclopaedia is expected to do, and will, for the benefit of students hasten the day when both Science and Humanities in the University classes will be taught in Tamil.

V. M. G.

HINDU CULTURE AND THE MODERN AGE

By

Dewan Bahadur K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI

This book reproduces the Special Lectures delivered by Sri K. S. Ramaswami Sastri at the Annamalai University in 1957. An examination of the fundamentals of the Hindu culture as reflected in the Dharma, Artha, Kama and Moksha Sastras is followed by the distinctive contribution of Tamil culture to the development of the composite Hindu culture. A notable feature of the Hindu culture has been its spirit of toleration and its receptivity to external ideas including those of the West. The author has expounded the intellectual gift of the Hindus, and their development of insight and introspection through Yoga and spirituality. However, one cannot help feeling that in the treatment of the matter, readability is unduly affected by a plethora of quotations.

In his attempt to trace the evolution of Hindu culture he harks back to the theory of P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar that both the Dravidians and the Aryans are autochthones of India. Though reinforced by certain arguments, this view does not seem to be convincing. It is inexplicable why people in early days should have left fertile and extensive India in search of new homes far away. Theories of foreign origin of the Dravidians and Aryans are not to be discarded merely on the ground that they were first formulated by European scholars.

The proficiency attained by the Hindus in Mathematics, Medicine and other Sciences and arts are described at length. The Dharmasastras, Arthasastras, Kamasastras and Mokshasastras which the Hindus have produced are mentioned and their importance explained. The sources of Hinduism like the Srutis, Smritis, Itihasas, Puranas, Agamas, Tantras and Bhashyas as well as the rituals of

the religion are indicated. The contribution of the Tamils to the building of Hindu culture are described and he shows how Hinduism is a product of Aryan and Dravidian deities and practices. The impact of the West on Hindu culture and the lessons that each has to teach the other are examined in the last part of the book. The book is packed with details and the author's vast learning and broad outlook are in evidence throughout the survey. There are unfortunately many misprints in the book.

K. K. PILLAY.

ANNALS OF THE BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE, Vol. XXXVII, 1956

The 37th volume of the Annals of the B.O.R. Institute maintains the high standard which the Journal has already attained. It presents 11 articles and 16 notes containing discussions of specific points of controversy, besides reviews of certain recent publications on Sanskrit literature and Indian history. Among the articles, that of Sri V. S. Agrawala urges the need of a cultural commentary on the Mahabharata in the light of knowledge provided by Indian History, archaeology, philosophy, religion and literature. Sri S. K. Dikshit discusses the thorny problem of the Kushan chronology, and though this article of his forms but a part of his elaborate treatment of the subject, his conclusions regarding the dates of the rulers are notable. Vast learning and a critical attitude are clearly in evidence ; but the validity of his conclusions can be assessed only when the entire paper is published. Sri P. K. Gode places Sudarsanacarya between c. A.D. 1300 and 1500 ; but the basis of his inference does not seem to be convincing. An interesting paper contributed by the same scholar provides the result of his study on the history of kite-flying in India and outside. But obviously the sources pertaining to the rest of Asia besides India have to be utilised before a complete picture can be had. Mr. Ludwik

Sternbach discusses the extent to which the Garuda Purana is indebted to the Chanakya Rajyaniti Sastra and shows that the Brahaspati Samhiti of the Garuda Purana, far from being an original production, forms but a repetition of the earlier Chanakya Rajyaniti Sastra. Sri Buddha Prakash examines the references to the career and exploits of Chandragupta as found mentioned by Firdausi. In particular, the details furnished about the last Nanda king and the reference to Chandragupta's alliance with Alexander provide corroboratory evidence. Two Vedic Gathas and their social as well as political implications are discussed by Sri R. C. Hazara, while the beginnings of the Sankhya school of philosophy are traced by Mr. Walter Ruben to the 4th century B.C. Sri V. B. Mishra describes the social condition of India during the Medieval period as gleaned from the epigraphs as well as the accounts of the Muslim travellers. The light thrown by Alberuni, Al Masudi and Abu Zaid on the caste system, marriage dress and food of the people is illuminating. Another scholarly study is that of Sri C. D. Chatterjee on Asoka's Pillar Edict which records the benefactions of Queen Charuvaki. Sri Radhakrishna Chaudhary examines the extent to which heretical sects were responsible for the increased elaboration of the orthodox rituals which came to be expounded in the Puranas. In spite of their legendary foundations and palpable contradictions the Puranas constitute a repository of Hindu rites and customs. The critical notes form scholarly supplements to the learned articles found in the Journal.

K. K. PILLAY.

BOOK RECEIVED

A GUIDE TO TAMIL BY THE DIRECT METHOD by PROF. P. JOTHIMUTHU. Published by the Christian Literature Society, Madras. Pages 257. Price Rs. 6.50.

News and Notes

LITERARY CONTRIBUTIONS

THE VISVA-BHARATI QUARTERLY
SANTINIKETAN, WEST BENGAL INDIA   16th June 1958.

The Chief Editor, *Tamil Culture,*
13 Clemens Road, Madras-7.

Dear Sir,

Realising that you wish to promote an understanding of the richness and variety of Tamil culture, through your journal, I wish to seek your help in obtaining worthwhile contributions of about 5,000 words each on any of the following subjects of our interest :—

(i) Rabindranath Tagore in Tamil Translation ;
(ii) Tagore and Bharati ;
(iii) Trends and Tendencies of Modern Tamil Literature.

The last-named may be divided into a series of four articles.

Articles for publication in the *Quarterly* are paid for —although the token honorarium amounts to Rs. 25 only.

As the subject of this letter is one of our mutual interest I have every hope of receiving an early and sympathetic response.

Yours sincerely,
K. Roy,
Editor.

Readers who wish to contribute articles may correspond directly with the Editor, Visva-Bharati Quarterly— Editor, *Tamil Culture.*

TAMIL DANCES IN AUSTRALIA

Dancer Tilakavathi Kanagasabai of Ceylon is having quite a busy time in Australia. She has so far given a series of solo recitals in Melbourne and Brisbane and appeared twice on TV. The critics greeted her performance of Baratha Natyam with a great deal of enthusiasm although admitting that they could not understand very much of what was going on. Wrote one : " What she relies on, and what carries her performance through, are a light and graceful body, expressive eyes and a superbly descriptive pair of hands. All these are used to their maximum advantage either to evoke a mood or an emotion or to enact a story through the use of symbolic gestures.... Even without a knowledge of the culture one could not fail to be impressed....".

She has been booked to appear in other major cities before her return home towards the end of the year.

—*Ceylon Observer,* July 6, 1958.

USE OF TAMIL FOR GOVERNMENT WORK

The Madras Government have sanctioned the post of a Special Executive Officer to assist the work of the Official Language Implementation Committee and Mr. K. Ramalingam, retired Municipal Commissioner, has been appointed to the post.

The Special Officer will have mainly touring work, visiting offices where Tamil has already been introduced and he will help in the implementation of the programme of switching over to Tamil and solve problems that may arise in such offices.

A sub-committee consisting of experts under the Director of Legal Studies is now engaged in preparing a glossary of legal terms in Tamil.

The Hindu—August 22, 1958.

TIRUKKURAL IN "KRITIS"

The first volume of *Tirukkural Madhura Kirtanai,* composed by Mr. T. R. Viswanatha Sastri of Mayuram, was released at a meeting organised by the Triplicane Cultural Academy at Nammalwar Mansions. Mr. M. Bhaktavatsalam, Home Minister, presided.

Mr. M. P. Narasimhan, Secretary of the Academy, welcomed the gathering.

Prof. P. Sambamurthy, introducing the author, said Mr. Viswanatha Sastri was a scholar both in Sanskrit and in Tamil and his compositions would reveal his talent in music. He emphasised the need for giving patronage to the composers so as to enable them to continue their service to music and to the different languages.

Mr. Bhaktavatsalam, who released the volume, considered it a great *sadana* on the part of Mr. Viswanatha Sastri in rendering "Tirukkural" in *kritis.* He felt that the great ideals found in "Kural" could be popularised easily through the medium of music, besides developing *bhakti* or devotion to God among the people. He expressed the hope that the volume would find a place in all the libraries in the State.

Addressing the gathering, Mr. Viswanatha Sastri mentioned that the first volume contained 41 *kritis.* He would be bringing out, he said, six more volumes, each containing an equal number of *kritis.* He then sang some "Kural" stanzas in the form of *kritis.*

Srimathis Bhooma Krishnamurthy, Mayuravalli and Kousalya entertained the gathering with "Tirukkural" in *kritis.*

The Hindu—July 19, 1958.

DUTY OF TAMIL WRITERS

Inaugurating the third anniversary celebration of the Tamil Writers' Sangam, Tiruchirapalli, Mr. S. S. Vasan, Editor, *Ananda Vikatan*, stressed the need for more writers, so that the treasures in the old Tamil classics could be put into new language to enable the common man to understand them.

He referred to the enormous influence newspapers were having in the modern world and to the rapid advance made in the printing industry and felt confident of the future of writers.

Mr. Vasan also stated that he commenced his writing career decades ago when he was a student in a local institution, at the feet of the Rock temple Pillayar, and referred to the services rendered to the Tamil literary world by writers like Dr. T. S. S. Rajan, Dr. T. V. S. Sastri and Mr. T. M. Ponnuswami Pillai, a great novelist. Srirangam had been a market place of great books. Kambar sang in Srirangam and Kalamega Pulavar was born in Tiruvanaikoil so that, Tiruchi could well be proud of its place in the Tamil literary world. Even now Srimathi Kumudhini of Srirangam, Tiruvachakamani K. M. Balasubramaniam and Tiruloka Sitaraman were contributing to Tamil literature. He also referred to the short story competition for the benefit of students and the Tamil novel competition held by *Ananda Vikatan* and appealed to Tiruchi writers to participate in the recently announced Tamil drama competition too.

Dr. M. Varadarajanar, Head of the Tamil Department, Pachayappa's College, Madras, in his presidential address appealed to the writers to combine the best in the old treasures with the new developments in literature. He deprecated the kind of untouchability seen between pulavars, versed in old classics, and the new writers and appeal-

ed to develop contact to mutual advantage. He appealed to the public not to encourage the cheap and vulgar writing in the interest of the future of the country. The modern writer must be modest, fearless and liberal in outlook.

Messrs. K. V. Jagannathan, Editor, *Kalaimagal*, and K. M. Balasubramaniam also spoke, the latter disclosing that the Thiruvachakam was to be translated into German and French and that the English translation was to be released soon.

In the evening session, two resolutions were passed, one moved by Mr. A. S. Raghavan, deploring differences of party, caste and community creeping among Tamil writers and the other, moved by Mr. A. V. R. Krishnaswami Reddiar, President of the Tiruchi Tamil Writers' Association, pleading for the organisation of the different Tamil writers' associations in Tamil Nad into a federation.

The Hindu—July 28, 1958.

THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE

Speaking at a public meeting held under the auspices of the Young Men's Welfare Association at St. Mary's Hall, George Town, Dr. A. Krishnaswami, Member of the Lok Sabha, made a fervent plea for maintaining the *status quo* with regard to the official language of the Union and for having English as the official language for an indefinite period. Mr. N. Sivaraj, Member of the Lok Sabha, presided.

Dr. Krishnaswami said that on the subject of official language there should be no hesitancy whatsoever in postponing the issue to be settled by the next generation, in the interest of unity and other conditions which they had to take note of. There was no use talking parrotlike about Hindi being the national language of India. It was absurd, and illogical, he said, to fix anything like a time limit for

Hindi to become the official language. Even if it be 2000 A.D. there would be perpetuation of controversy over the issue, as the non-Hindi speaking people constituted the majority of the people in the country. If they switched over to Hindi as the official language a few years hence, they would not be in a position, either in the cultural or in the official sense, to play their part in the affairs of the country and the world. If they did not want any further controversy, the better thing would be to accept the proposition that the time was not ripe to decide on a change in the official language. The question should be left to the succeeding generation for a solution in the context of their times. Official language for Union purpose could only be settled years hence when they would have a more mature public opinion, when every citizen was educated up to the age of 14. It was wrong on their part to take advantage of the illiteracy of the masses and then impose something on them. He stressed the need for re-examining the Constitution in this connection.

The speaker said that the Official Language Committee must be apprised of the strength of feeling of the non-Hindi speaking people over the issue of the official language and that the Committee should invite prominent men, who had given their opinion on the question, to clarify their views before it. The problem resulting from making Hindi, the official language, was not really one of having a superficial knowledge of another language. The problem was one of knowing it as well as those who had the advantage of having it as the mother tongue. That was the basis of discrimination which was alleged by many people who had spoken against Hindi being made the official language. The time had now come when no Government, however powerful, could afford to ignore public opinion, which was very pronounced on this issue.

The Hindu—June 5, 1958.

THE KOTAS OF NILGIRIS

The annual conference of Kotas, a Dravidian hill tribe of the Nilgiris, was held at Thiruchigadi, a Kota hamlet, about 25 miles from Coonoor.

Mr. Bishnuram Medhi, Governor of Madras, who attended the conference in company with the President of the Assam Provincial Congress Committee, advised the Kotas to remain united.

A large gathering of Kotas from all over the Nilgiris attended the conference. At the beginning, Kota men and women, in their colourful dress, gave a dance performance, to the accompaniment of the traditional tribal music, which was greatly appreciated.

Mr. C. Raju, a Kota youth, on behalf of the Kotas of all the seven 'Kota-giris' of the Nilgiris, presented an address of welcome to the Governor. The address *inter alia* said : "We have been living amongst these hills from very ancient times, cultivating our lands, smelting iron ore from the hillsides to make our agricultural and other implements, and doing carpentry and pottery work for ourselves and other tribes. Our history has been a chequered one. The total population of the tribe was 1,112 in 1873. Today, it is only 1,272 after a period of 85 years. There were times when the population had gone down as low as 983. Growth of population has been hampered by chronic ill-health, lack of medical facilities and abject poverty. Unless improved medical facilities and planned measures of social and economic welfare are taken, the fear of extermination is always there."

The Hindu—June 5, 1958.

Transliteration of Tamil Phonemes* into English

VOWELS

அ	—	a	(as in among)
ஆ	—	a:	(,, calm)
இ	—	i	(,, sit)
ஈ	—	i:	(,, machine)
உ	—	u	(,, full)
ஊ	—	u:	(,, rule)
எ	—	e	(,, fed)
ஏ	—	e:	(,, able)
ஐ	—	ai	(,, aisle)
ஒ	—	o	(,, opinion)
ஓ	—	o:	(,, opium)
ஔ	—	au	(,, now)

CONSONANTS

				Hints re: articulation
Hard[1] (Plosive)	க	—	k	(as in king, angle, alhambra)
	ச	—	c	(,, church, angel, calcium)
	ட	—	t:	(,, card ?)....Retroflex - articulate with blade of tongue.
	த	—	th	(,, threat, this, thick)....dental.
	ப	—	p	(,, pipe, amber)
	ற	—	t	(,, atlas, sunday, arrears)..Retroflex-articulate with tip of tongue.
Soft (Nasal)	ங	—	ng	(,, sing)....velar n
	ஞ	—	nj	(,, angel)....palatal n
	ண	—	n:	(,, urn ?)....Retroflex n - articulate with blade of tongue.
	ந	—	nh	(,, anthem)....dental n
	ம	—	m	(,, mate)
	ன	—	n	(,, enter)....Retroflex n - articulate with tip of tongue.
Medium (non-nasal continuant)	ய	—	y	(,, yard)
	ர	—	r	(,, red)
	ல	—	l	(,, leave)....Alveolar l - articulate with tip of tongue.
	வ	—	v	(,, very)
	ழ	—	l-	(,, ?)....Retroflex l - articulate with blade of tongue.
	ள	—	l:	(,, hurl)....Alveolar l - articulate with blade of tongue.
Auxiliary[2] (ஆய்தம்)	ஃ	—	x	(,, ahead)

* The Tamil phonemes may for practical purposes be treated as having single allophones only, except in the case of the hard consonants which have four allophones each, as shown in note 1 on the reverse.

1. The Phonemes, classified as *hard,* have normally an *unaspirated unvoiced* value but acquire the following modified values if preceded by a consonant:—

   (a) a *slightly aspirated* unvoiced value, if preceded by a *plosive or hard consonant.*

   e.g., பக்கம் – is pronounced pakkham, not pakkam

   (b) an unaspirated but *voiced* value, if preceded by a *nasal or soft consonant*:—

   e.g., பங்கம் – is pronounced pangam, not pankam
   பஞ்சம் – „ panjam, not pancam,

   (c) a *fricative* value if preceded by a *non-nasal continuant or medium consonant or by the auxiliary consonant.*

   e.g., பல்கலை becomes palhalai not palkalai
   எஃகு „ ehhu not exku

NOTE.—In most present day dialects, the plosive assumes a fricative —sometimes a voiced—value after a vowel also, except in the case of t: which retains its normal unaspirated, unvoiced value even after avowel.

2. The value of this *auxiliary* phoneme, which must *always* be followed by a hard consonant, was variable during the time of Tholkappiam; it acquired a phonetic value identical with that of the following hard consonant, vide 1 (c) above,

   e.g., எஃகு became ehhu

   Later its value became fixed as h, irrespective of the following consonant.

Note. (i) With a view to keep down transliteration to the minimum it is suggested that, in the case of Tamil words which are already in free use in English (e.g., Tamil = Thamil), or where it is unnecessary to indicate the exact pronunciation, accurate transliteration need not be resorted to. In the case of proper names etc., which occur more than once in the same article, the transliteration need be shown only once in brackets side by side with a free English adaptation, the latter alone being used subsequently, except of course in cases where such a procedure will lead to ambiguity,

e.g., வேங்கடம் = Vengadam (Ve : ngkat : am).

(ii) Reference may be made to *Tamil Culture*, Vol. IV, No. 1 (January 1955 issue) pp. 58-73 for fuller details.

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TAMIL CULTURE

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The Kutunhthokai Anthology

H. S. DAVID

In *Tamil Culture* (January 1955, pages 90 to 98), under the title "The Earliest Tamil Poems Extant", I have already shown that some stanzas or poems of the *Kutunhthokai* (குறுந்தொகை) are among the earliest Tamil poems extant. I shall now in a series of articles take up each of the Eight Anthologies (in Tamil எட்டுத் தொகை) and give the reader a short but critical appreciation thereof. I shall discuss in turn the authors, content and form of the poems themselves, the probable time of their origin and the manner of the compilation of the several poems into the present Anthology.

A. The Authors of the Several Stanzas

In the second edition (1947) of the *Kutunhthokai* Doctor U. V. Saminathaiyar and his son, S. Kaliyanasundaraiyar, list 206 poets as the authors of 391 poems of this work. The authors of the ten remaining poems are unknown. The reader who is interested in these 206 names should peruse their Introduction to the *Kutunhthokai*, pages 50 to 110, under the heading பாடினோர் வரலாறு. The list embraces such well-known names as Ammu:vana:r, Auvaiya:r, Kapilar, Ko:pperunjco:lar, Ko:vu:r Kil-a:r, Nakki:rana:r, Paran:ar, Pa:lai Pa:t:iya Perungkat:ungko:, Ma:ngkut:i Kil-a:r Maruthana:r, also known as the Singer of Ka:njci songs, from Mathurai, Maruthan Il:a Nha:kana:r, also from Mathurai, Ma:mu:lana:r, Mo:ci Ki:rana:r and the famous Vel:l:i Vi:thiya:r, who is mentioned frequently in both the *Kutunhthokai* and *Akanha:nu:tu* (அகநானூறு) But what is most interesting from a critical angle is the number of poets whose names are made up for the occasion, from some striking phrase or

simile in the poems composed by them. I list 20 below: the majority of these poets have no other name than the one fashioned in this manner.

LIST I.

Name of the poet in Roman and in Tamil letters	Reference in the *Kutunh-thokai*	The relevant passage which contains very striking similes or significant phrases
An:ila:t:u Muntila: r அணிலாடு முன்றிலார்	41:4-6 (1)	மக்கள் போகிய அணிலாடு முன்றில் புலப்பில் போலப் புல்லென்று அலப்பென், தோழி, அவர் அகன்ற ஞான்றே.
Eyittiyana:r எயிற்றியனூர்	286:1-2 (2)	உள்ளிக் காண்பென் போல்வல் முள் எயிற்று அமிழ்தம் ஊறும்அஞ் செவ்வாய்.
O:ritpicaiya:r ஓரிற்பிச்சையார்	277:2-3 (3)	செந்நெல் அமலை வெண்மை வெள் இமுது ஓரிற்பிச்சை ஆர மாந்தி.
O:re:rul-avana:r ஓரேருழவனூர்	131:3-6 (4)	ஈரம் பட்ட செவ்விப் பைம்புனத்து ஓரேர் உழவன் போலப் பெருவிதுப்பு உற்றன்றால் நோகோ யானே!
Kangkul vel:l:aththa:r கங்குல் வெள்ளத் தார்	387:3-5 (5)	உயிர்வரம்பு ஆக நீந்தினம் ஆயின், எவன்கொல் வாழி? தோழி! கங்குல் வெள்ளம் கடலினும் பெரிதே!
Kayamana:r கயமனூர்	9:4-6 (6)	பாசடை நிவந்த கணைக்கால் நெய்தல் இளமீன் இருங்கழி ஓதமல்குதொறும் கயம்மூழ்கு மகளிர் கண்ணின் மானும்.
Kalporucitu nuraiya:r கல்பொருசிறு நுரையார்	290:5-6 (7)	கல்பொரு சிறுநுரை போல, மெல்ல மெல்ல இல்லாகுதுமே!
Kavaimakana:r கவைமகனூர்	324:6-7 (8)	கவைமக நஞ்சுண்டாங்கு அஞ்சுவல், பெரும, என் நெஞ்சத் தானே!

Name of the poet in Roman and in Tamil letters	Reference in the *Kutunh-thokai*	The relevant passage which contains very striking similes or significant phrases
Ka:kkaipa:t:ini ya:r காக்கைபாடினி யார் =the poetess who has sung well of the crow	210:3-6 (9)	முழுதுடன் விளைந்த வெண்நெல் வெஞ்சோறு எழுகலத்து ஏந்தினும், சிறிதென் தோழி, பெருந்தோள் நெகிழ்த்த செல்லற்கு விருந்துவரக் கரைந்த காக்கையது பலியே !
Ka:letikat:ikai ya:r காலெறிகடிகை யார்	267:2-4 (10)	காலெறி கடிகைக் கண் அயின்று அன்ன கரும்பின் வாலெயிறு ஊறிய வசையில் தீநீர்.
Kuppaikko:l-iya:r குப்பைக்கோழி யார்	305:6 8 (11)	குப்பைக் கோழித் தனிப்போர் போல விளிவாங்கு விளியின் அல்லது களைவோர் இலை யான் உற்ற நோயே!
Kutiyitaiya:r குறிஇறையார்	394:1-3 (12)	முழந்தாள் இரும்பிடிக் கயந்தலைக் குழவி குறிஇறைப் புதல்வரொடு மறுவந்து ஓடி
Ko:ve:ngkai perungkathal-var கோவேங்கைப் பெருங்கதழ்வர்	134:3-5 (13)	குறும்பொறைத் தடைஇய நெடுந் தாள் வேங்கைப் பூவுடை அலங்குசினை புலம்பத் தாக்கிக் கல்பொருது இரங்குங் கதழ்வீழ் அருவி
Thumpice:r ki:rana:r தும்பிசேர்கீரனர்	392:1 (14)	அம்ம, வாழியோ, அணிச்சிறைத் தும்பி ! Cf. the commentary hereon, op. cit. p. 768.
Nhet:uven:nhila vina:r நெடுவெண்நில வினர்	47:3-4 (15)	எல்லி வருநர் களவிற்கு நல்லை அல்லை, நெடுவெண் ணிலவே !
Pathat:ivaikala:r பதடிவைகலார்	323:1 (16)	எல்லாம் எவனோ? பதடி வைகல் ! (=பதர்) Cf. "Vanity of vanities: all is vanity," the Bible.

Name of the poet in Roman and in Tamil letters	Reference in the *Kutunh-thokai*	The relevant passage which contains very striking similes or significant phrases
Mat:alpa:t:iyama: thangki:rana:r மடல் பாடிய மாதங்கீரனார்	182:1 (17)	விழுத்தலைப் பெண்ணை விளையல் மாமடல். Cf. the commentary, op. cit. p. 389, the last para.
Mi:netithu:n:t:i la:r மீனெறி தூண்டிலார்	54:3-4 (18)	கான யானை கைவிடு பசுங்கழை மீனெறி தூண்டிலின் நிவக்கும் (=rising).
Vit:t:akuthirai-ya:r விட்ட குதிரையார்	74:1-2 (19)	விட்ட குதிரை விசைப்பின் அன்ன விசும்புதோய் பசுங்கழைக் குன்ற நாடன்
Villakaviralina:r வில்லக விரலினார்	370:4-5 (20)	வில்லக விரலிற் பொருந்தி, அவன் நல்லகஞ் சேரின் ஒருமருங் கினமே!

The last simile was so graphic and so apt that it was copied in later literature, as at *Ci:vaka cinhtha:man:i* 2110 a: (சீவக சிந்தாமணி) வில்லக விரல்போற் பொருந்தி.

Two remarks must be made in connexion with these authors of the poems in the *Kutunhthokai*. *First*, four of these same poets are mentioned as the authors of poems in the other Anthologies and there they are called by the names, fashioned in the manner described above from words or phrases occurring in the *Kutunhthokai*. Thus, O:re:rul-avana:r is mentioned as the author of *Putanha:-nu:tu* (புறநானூறு) 193; Kayamana:r is the author not only of *Kutunhthokai*, 9, 356, 378 and 396 but also of *Putanha:nu:tu* 254, of *Nhattin:ai*, (நற்றிணை) 12, 198, 279, 293, 305 and 324 as well as of *Akanha:nu:tu*, 145, 195, 259 and of nine other poems in that Anthology. Likewise, the poetess Ka:kkaipa:t:iniya:r Nhaccel:l:aiya:r composed not only *Kutunhthokai*, 210 but also the ten stanzas, 51 to 60, in *Pathittuppaṭhthu* (பதிற்றுப்பத்து) as line 13 of the concluding (பதிகம்) Pathikam expressly states. That she

was a poetess, not a poet, is clear not only from the termination "ini" in "pa:t:ini" = pa:t:upaval: = she who sings, but also from the proper name cel:l:ai, contained in Nhaccel:l:aiya:r. Thus at the ninth Pathikam of *Pathittuppaththu* from line 2 வேண்மாள் அந்துவஞ் செள்ளை ஈன்ற மகன் (= the son she bore), it is clear that cel:l:ai is the name of a female. The initial syllable "nha" in her name, as in Nha-kki:rar, where ki:r is most probably conn.w.Sk. gir=praise, verse, song, seems to be a corruption of Nhal= good, splendid, and is classified by U. V. Saminathaiyar, op. cit. p. 72 of the Introduction, as a particle connoting "splendour" 'ந' என்பது சிறப்புப் பொருளைத் தருவதோர் இடைச்சொல். Likewise, the poet Thumpice:r Ki:rana:r composed not only *Kutunhthokai*, 61, 316, 320 and 392 but also *Nhattin:ai*, 277 and *Putanha:nu:tu*, 249. It must be made clear to the student of Tamil that the final "a:r", in such names as the above, is optional and a mere honorific termination.

B. The Time of the Composition of the *Kutunhthokai* and of its Compilation

I have now made it quite clear that in a number of instances the names of the authors were fashioned out of the words or phrases found in the *Kutunhthokai* poems themselves and that these names were used to designate the authors of the poems found in four of the other Anthologies, namely, *Nhattin:ai, Akanha:nu:tu, Putanha:nu:tu* and *Pathittuppaththu*. The second point is more remarkable still. There is no instance of the "vice versa" phenomenon. There are instances, it is true, of *similar* names fashioned out of words or phrases found in the poems of the other Anthologies. Thus *Nhattin:ai*, 284:10 runs தேய்புரிப் பழங்கயிறு போல. The phrase was so apt and graphic that the unknown author was forthwith named தேய்புரிப் பழங்கயிற்றினார். But no author of the *Kutunhthokai* poems is known by this name or by any other name fashioned in this manner in the other Anthologies. From

these two points it is clear that the *Kutunhthokai* was the first of the eight anthologies to be *compiled,* in other words the earliest Tamil literary work extant, if we exclude Tamil grammars, like the *Tholka:ppiam* (தொல் காப்பியம்)from our present consideration, except for three of the Sūtras taken from its earliest part, *Elu-uththathika:-ram,* 62, 64 and 65.

Sutra 62: சகரக் கிளவியும் அவற்றோர் அற்றே
அ ஐ ஔஎனும் மூன்றலங் கடையே.

" 64: ஆ எ ஒ
என்னும் மூவுயிர் ஞகாரத்து உரிய.

" 65: ஆவோடு அல்லது யகரம் முதலாது.

These three sūtras are of the utmost importance in our task of fixing the relative antiquity of the early Tamil classics among themselves and in relation to *Tholka:ppiam Elu-uththathika:ram* (தொல் :எழுத்ததிகாரம்). The early mediaeval Tamil grammars, like the வீரசோழியம், நன்னூல் and நேமிநாதம், make no such distinction as *Tholka:p-piam Elu-uththathika:ram* 62 between " c " and the other " el-uththu " (k, th, nh, p, m) mentioned in the previous sūtra (61) of *Tholka:ppiam.* It seems therefore likely that *Tholka:ppiam Elu-uththathika:ram* is here dealing with a peculiar feature in the Tamil of its own time. On analysing the words, found in the early classics, with " ca " as the initial syllable, I find that the *Kutunhthokai* has the least number of these words whereas the *Paripa:t:al* (பரிபாடல்) has the greatest, with the *Paththuppa:t:t:u* (பத்துப்பாட்டு) or the Ten Idylls in an intermediate position. Thus the *Kutunhthokai* has only one word with " ca " as the initial syllable, cakat:am, at 165:3. The *Paripa:t:al,* however, which is generally considered to be the last (in time) of the Eight Anthologies, has the following words with " ca " as the initial syllable thereof :—

LIST II

The word with "ca" as initial in Tamil letters.	The word in Roman letters.	Its meaning in English.	The References in *Paripa:t:al*
1. சகடம்	cakat:am	a cart	10:17
2. சங்கம்	cangkam	a large number	2:13
3. சடை	cat:ai	thick tangled hair	9:5; 11:12
4. சண்பகம்	can:pakam	a flowering tree, bearing a yellow fragrant flower, "Michelia Campaka"	12:77
5. சமம்	camam	a battle, Com. po:r	19:42; 21:2; 22-1
6. சமழ்	camal-	{ =be put to shame, worsted	20:36
7. சமை	camai	=take an embryo into the womb and bring it to maturity	5:39
8. சலம்[1]	calam[1]	=water	9:6; 10:90
9. சலம்[2]	calam[2]	deception, as a result of an unsteady character	6:57
10. சலம்[3]	calam[3]	malice, contrariety	15:58
11. சனம்	canam	people, fr, ck. jana	10:59

LIST III

The word with "ca" initial.	References in the other 6 Anthologies, excluding Kutunhthokai, * Paripa:t:al	References in the Ten Idylls.	References in Ci:vaka chinta:man:i, Cilappathika:ram, Nha:lat:iya:r, Man:ime:kalai
1. cakat : am or cakat:u	*Nhattin:ai* 4:9 *Akanha:nu:tu* 136:5 *Putanha:nu:tu* 102:2	*Perumpa:n:a:ttup-pat:ai* (பெரும்பாணாற் றுப்படை) 50	*Nha:lat:iya:r* (நாலடியார்) 2d *Cilappathika:ram* (சிலப் பதிகாரம்) 1:50; 26:136 *Ci:vakacinhtha:man:i* (சீவக சிந்தாமணி) 363 b
2. cat:ai	*Putanha:nu:tu* 1:13; 43:4; 166:1; 251:7; 252:2 *Kaliththokai* (கலித்தொகை) 150:9;		*Ci:vakacinhtha:mani*: 32c; 1431a *Cilappathika:ram* 40; 26:225 *Man:ime:kalai* (மணிமேகலை) 17:27
3. can:pu*		*Perumpa:n:a:ttup-pat:ai* 220 *Mathuraikka:nji* (மதுரைக் காஞ்சி) 172 *Malaipat:u-kat:a:m* (மலைபடுகடாம்) 454	
4. cathukkam	*Nhattin:ai* 319:5	*Muruka:ttup-pat:ai* (திருமுருகாற் றுப்படை) 225	*Cilappathika:ram* 5:134; 14:213 *Man:ime:kalai* 1.55; 7:78; 20:29; 22:55 *Ci:vakacinhtha:man:i* 112b

*can:pu = sedge-grass, elephant grass.

The word with "ca" initial	*References in the other 6 Anthologies excluding *Kutunhthokai* * *Paripa:t:al*	References in the Ten Idylls	References in *Ci:vaka cinhtha:man:i, Cilappathika:ram, Nha:lat:iya:r, Man:ime:kalai*
5. canhthi*		*Muruka:ttuppat:ai* 225	*Cilappathika:ram* 10:19 *Man:ime:kalai* 6:61
6. canhthu[1]		*Malaipat:ukat:a:m* 393	
7. canhthu[2]	*Akanha:nu:tu* 102:3		*Cilappathika:ram* 8:19
8. caman	*Akanha:nu:tu* 188:5; 220:4; 25:19 *Putanha:nu:tu* 14:4; 72:8; 275:9; 284:5; 309:2; 365:5 *Pathittuppaththu* (பதிற்றுபத்து) 30:41; 34:10; 40:10, 41:19; 43:9; 52:7; 70:3; 71:20; 76:1	*Mathuraikka:nji* 593 *Muruka:ttuppat:ai* 99	*Cilappathika:ram* 10:247 *Man:ime:kalai* 8:59

canhthi = a junction of streets.
canhthu[1] = a junction of streets.
canhthu[2] = the sandal-wood unguent and perfume, Sirium myrtifolium.

The Eight Anthologies and the Ten Idylls are known in Tamil as the *Me:l Kan:akku* (மேல் கணக்கு) I shall here call them the 18 major classics of antiquity. It will be observed that among these the *Kutunhthokai* is nearest to the complete observance of the rule enunciated at *Thol-ka:ppiam Elu-ththathika:ram,* 62: it has only one word with "ca-" as initial and that only once. On the other hand, the *Paripa:t:al* has eleven such words, occurring

fifteen times in all. In size or length the two works are almost equal. Hence we are justified in stating that (1) the *Kutunhthokai* is a much earlier work than the *Paripa:t:al,* a conclusion we arrive at on other counts as well ; (2) with the flow of time the words with the "ca-" initial became more and more numerous. This conclusion is strengthened by a glance at the multitude of words with this initial to be found in the early mediaeval work, the *Thiruva:cakam* (திருவாசகம்) :—cakam, cakalam, cangkam, cangku, cangkamam, cangkaran, caccaiyan, cat:ai, cat:t:am, cat:t:u, can:t:am, cathurpat:a, cathurar, cathuran, cathurapperuma:n, cathurmukan, caththi, canhthanam, canhthu, canhthiran, camayam, camayava:thi, cayacaya = hurrah ! ; cayam[1] = victory ; cayam[2] = destruction ; carat:u, caran:, caranam, caratham, cari ; calam[1] = water ; calam[2] = malice ; calanhtharan, cali, calippu, cavalai, cal-akku. Furthermore, *Tholka:ppiam Elu-ththathika:ram* 62 bans likewise the "cai-" initial for Tamil words : but the *Tiruva:cakam* has the word "caivan" at 2 : 85 ; 4 : 113 ; 40:35.

Let us now turn to *Tholka:ppiam Elu-ththathika:ram* 64. It states : "The letter nj, as the initial of a word, can be followed by only three vowels :—a:, e and o". This rule differs greatly from the parallel statements in early mediaeval grammars like the *Viraco:l-iyam* and the *Nhannu:l* (நன்னூல்). The former at *Elu-ththathika:ram* Canthi. 7b states : nja nha:nku (ஞ நான்கு) i.e. nj is followed by four of the vowels. Its Comm. specifies these four as a, a:, e and o. The latter at 105 states : a, a:, e ovvo:t:ru a:kum njammuthal.

Thus between the composition of *Tholka:ppiam Eluththathika:ram* and that of these early mediaeval grammars, there had come into use Tamil words with "nja" as their initial syllable (*Nhannu:l* 105) as well as words with "ca" as initial (*Nhannu:l* 102). We have seen above that the *Kutunhthokai* stands out as the best observer of *Thol-ka:ppiam Elu-ththathika:ram* 62. We are happy to state

that it is the best observer of *Tholka:ppiam Elu-ththathika:ram* 64 as well. It has only one instance of the "nja" initial, viz. njamali = a dog, at 179:2. We are therefore justified in ascribing an early date not only to the compilation of the *Kutunhthokai* but also to the *composition* of a vast majority of its poems. As we pass along to the later texts, even among the 18 major classics, both the number of such words and their incidence increase *pari passu*. In addition, there is the "nji" initial in "njimitu", which also violates *Tholka:ppiam Elu-ththathika:ram* 64. This increase is exactly parallel to that associated with the "ca-" initial under *Tholka:ppiam Elu-ththathika:ram* 62 above. I subjoin here a list of words in the other 17 major classics that have "nja" or "nji" as the initial syllable, in violation of the rule aforementioned :—

LIST IV

1. njamali = a hunting dog, *Akanah:nu:tu* 122:9 ; 388:14. *Putanha:nu:tu* 74:3 ; *Perumpa:n:a:ttuppat:ai* 112, 132, 299 ; *Pat:t:inappa:lai* (பட்டினப்பாலை) 140 ; *Kutinjippa:t:u* (குறிஞ்சிப்பாட்டு) 131.
2. njamann or njaman = the god of Death, Yama, *Putanha:nu:tu* 6:9 தெறுகோல் ஞமன் போல; *Paripa:ta:l* 3:21 ; 5:61.
3. njaral = a loud sound or noise, to sound loud, *Pathittuppaththu* 30:6 ; *Muruka:ttuppat:ai* 120.
4. njin:am = fat (substantive), *Putanha:nu:tu* 177:14.
5. njimitu = the honey-bee or beetle, *Akanha:nu:tu* 59:9 ; 78:3 ; 192:10 ; *Putanha:nu:tu* 93:12 ; *Kaliththokai* 127:3 ; *Pathittuppaththu* 12:12 ; 50:18.

Let us now pass on to the last of the three Sūtras, namely *Tholka:ppiam Elu-ththathika:ram* 65, which runs :—

a:vo:t:u allathu yakaram muthal-a:thu. This means : "y can be the initial of a word, only when y is

followed by a:". As usual, the *Kutunhthokai* observes this regulation best : it conforms thereto perfectly, avoiding the "ya-", "yu : " and "yo : " initials that are found in other works, even in the 17 other major classics of antiquity. In these the following words violate this rule :—

1. yavanar = the Greeks or Ionians, *Putanha:nu:tu* 56:18 ; அருகாது ஈயா யவனர், *Pathittuppaththu* Pathikam 2, line 8 ; *Nhet:unhalva:t:ai* (நெடுநல் வாடை) 101 ; *Perumpa:n:a:ttuppat:ai* 316 ; யவனர் ஒதிம விளக்கின்; *Mullaippa:t:u* (முல்லைப் பாட்டு) 61.
2. yu:kam = a black monkey, *Muruka:ttuppat:ai* 302.
3. yu:pam = a high sacrificial pillar = ve:l: vi-ththu:n: வேள்வித்தூண் in the Comm. and at *Putanha:nu:tu* 400:19. The word யூபம் itself occurs at *Putanha:nu:tu* 15:21 ; 224:8 ; *Pathittuppaththu* 67:10, in the abovementioned sense. At *Mathuraikka:nji* 27 யூபம் means "the headless trunk of a corpse". Evidently this meaning arose by analogy.

Accordingly we may state that in the gradual evolution of Tamil, the palatals "c", "nj" and "y" came to be associated with more and more of the vowels. *Elu-ththathika:ram* 62, 64 and 65 of *Tholka:ppiam* can refer only to the earliest stratum of the extant Tamil literature that is represented by 399 out of the 401 poems of the *Kutunhthokai*. On this test alone, poems 165 and 179 therein should be considered as of a slightly later date than the vast majority of its poems, which (on other grounds as well) we must ascribe to the centuries before and immediately after the birth of Christ. See my abovementioned article : "The Earliest Tamil Poems Extant."

C. FORM AND CONTENT OF THESE POEMS : THE METRE.

In the earliest Tamil poetry the easier metres, like a:ciriyam or akaval and vanjci were the only ones employed : in later texts we encounter more difficult and elaborate ones. In the 18 major classics we meet only four. This

is explicitly stated at *Tholka:ppiam Porul:athika:ram* 417, which, however, substitutes ven:pa: for paripa:t:al—the metre, not the work. A:ciriyam vanjci ven:pa: kkali ena

Nha:l iyattu enpa pa:vakai viriye: In the *Thiruva:-cakam*, Pope finds fourteen varieties of metre. The occurrence of a variety of metres in any work, e.g. in *Ci:vaka-cinhtha:man:i* stamps it at once as (to that extent) late in composition. The *Kutunhthokai* has only one metre throughout, the akaval.

Except for poems 307 and 391, which contain nine lines, the stanzas of the *Kutunhthokai* range between five and eight lines in size. Each of these lines contains four சீர். but in most of these stanzas, if not in all, the penultimate line contains only three சீர். This last phenomenon occurs likewise in the stanzas of *Nhattin:ai* and *Akanha:-nu:tu*.

The earliest poems in Tamil are short. Unlike mediaeval Tamil poetry, they indulge in no fantastic comparisons, no fanciful numbers, no improbable "incidents" or so-called "events", no nauseating details. They are like cameos. The poets concerned create vivid pen-pictures in our minds with a few deft strokes of the poetic brush. The poems are distinguished by freshness, naivete and the minimum of conscious embellishment. In them is realized the truth of the dictum: "Art lies in concealing art". Pre-eminent among these early poems stand the short stanzas of the *Kutunhthokai*. Each of its stanzas, short though it be, is a complete poem. It is doubtful whether any short stanzas in English, French, Italian or Latin have realized such perfect poems as those of the *Kutunhthokai* in Tamil, if we were to judge them by the vividness of their sentiments and the consummate manner of their expression in such few words. In conciseness they vie with Tacitus, in depth with Milton's sonnets, in the force of sentiment with Shakespeare's, in felicity of expression with Wordsworth's.

Let us take as an example its 130th stanza : it contains four sentences within its five lines.

நிலம் தொட்டுப் புகாஅர் ; வானம் ஏறார் ;
விலங்குஇரு முந்நீர் காலின் செல்லார் ;
நாட்டின் நாட்டின் ஊரின் ஊரின்
குடிமுறை குடிமுறை தேரின்,
கெடுநரும் உளரோ ? நம்காதலோரே.

nhilanh	thot:t:u	ppukar.	va: nam	e:ta:r.
vilangku	iru	munhnhi:r	ka:lit	cella:r.
nha:t:t:	in	nha:t:t:in	u:rin	u:rin
kut:imutai		kut:imutai	te:rin,	
ket:unharum		ul:aro:	nhang ka:thal-o:re:	

The husband of the family has been away for a long time, probably on a business trip : the wife languishes at home, pining for his return. Her female companion consoles her by these reassuring short pithy sentences : "It is quite improbable that he has dug into the earth and entered therein. Assuredly he has not ascended into heaven. He has not crossed the ocean (that lies) athwart, *on foot.* If we were to search for him, country by country, village by village, house by house, could your beloved escape us ?" It is difficult to find in Tamil literature *a stanza* to surpass this one, in the points afore-mentioned. Like the Rigvedic *grihe: grihe:* or *dame: dame:*, there are suitable *repetitions*, in lines 3 and 4 of this poem. Likewise at *Kutunhthokai* 399:3 thot:u ul-i thot:u ul-i ; 399:4 vit:u ul-i vit:u ul-i. At times these seem to be slightly overdone, as at *Kutunhthokai* 285:1-2 :—vaikal vaikal vaikavum, va:ra:r. ella: ellai ellaiyum to:nta:r.

But there are no fantastic repetitions in the *Kutunhthokai* as are to be found in *Nha:lat:iya:r*, as for instance, in stanza 39 : vaikalum vaikal varakkan:t:um axthe un:ara:r

வெந்திறல் கடுவளி பொங்கர்ப் போந்தென,
நெற்றுவிளை உழிஞ்சில்வற்றல் ஆர்க்கும்
மலையுடை, அருஞ்சுரம் என்ப நம்
முலையிடை முனிநர் சென்ற ஆறே.

vaikalai	vaikalai	vaikumentu	inputuvar.
vaikalum	vaikattam	va:l-nha:l:me:l	vaikuthal
vaikalum	vaiththun:ar — a:tha:r.		

Except for such ven:pa: stanzas as the above, the later poems are much longer than the earlier ones. The growth in size is accompanied by a growth in conscious adornment, called " an:i " or " alangka:ram ". Not that these poetic devices are totally absent in the earliest poems. Thus "*ethukai*" on set purpose occurs fairly frequently in the *Kutunhthokai* as, for instance. in lines 6 and 7 of its 374th stanza : In line 6, the first ci:r is நீடுரும், and corresponding to it, in line 7, the first ci:r is கூடுனும். Note "t:i" as the second syllable in each line. But it is worthy of note that none of the remaining five lines shows the slightest trace of any " ethukai ". Similarly, "*mo:nai*" occurs frequently in the *Kutunhthokai*. There are instances even of complete " mo:nai ", பூரணமுகனை or மோனை, where all the " ci:r " in a line begin with the same or kindred consonant. Thus *Kutunhthokai* 41:5 (containing 3 ci:r only) runs

புலப்பில் போலப் புல்லென்று.

182:1. விழுத்தலைப் பெண்ணை விளையல் மாமடல்

,, 2. மணியணி பெருந்தார் மரபிற் பூட்டி.

391:2. புகரி புழுங்கிய புயல்நீங்கு புறவில்.

The last-mentioned is the best example of perfect " mo:nai ". But the instances of " mo:nai " are not excessive, as in later literature, where they number 70 to 75 per cent of the " ci:r " involved. In *Kutunhthokai* 41, they number only 12 out of its 23 " ci:r " ; in stanza 182, only 12 " mo:nai " are encountered out of a possible 27, although the first two lines have four each ; in stanza 391, which consists of nine lines and therefore of 35 " ci:r ", only 17 " mo:nai " are to be found. Thus " an:i " is kept within reasonable bounds : it never becomes in the *Kutunhthokai* the chief object of the poet, as it does in *later* literature to the extent that at times his poem appears too laboured and involved. Let the reader recall to mind the *Nha:lat:iya:r* stanza just cited, stanza 39.

D. The Reticence and Charm of the *Kutunhthokai*

The earlier poems of classical aniquity, like the stanzas of the *Kutunhthokai* and *Nhattin:ai*, describe the situation e.g. the lovers' meeting or parting, in a few well-chosen words. They suggest rather than describe certain details connected with such situations. There is no attempt in them at a complete description of every limb of the heroine or of any other girl of the poet's choice, as we find in some of the Ten Idylls. For instance, *Porunhara:ttuppat:ai* (பொருநராற்றுப்படை) lines 35-40 describe in detail these limbs of the heroine in question : her vana mulai, koppu:l-, alkul, kutangku. In *Ci:vaka cinhtha:man:i* the high-water mark of such descriptions is reached. In the words of Pope, *Nha:lat:iya:r* Introduction, p. 43, "the poet carefully photographs everything, using words and giving details" that were better left out. No such grossness is to be encountered in the *Kutunhthokai*. On the contrary, the sexual intercourse between the lover and his beloved is glided over under the innocent term : "laughter", in Tamil நகுதல் =nhakuthal, as at *Kutunhthokai* 169:3 ; 226: 7 ; 320:5. *Kutunhthokai* 394:6 has instead நகை விளையாட்டு Cf. *Kutunhthokai* 381:7 ilangku eyitu tho:nta nhakkathan payan e *Kutunhthokai* 384:3 has a variant : nhalan un:u, which is also found at *Kutunhthokai* 112:5 ; 236:6 and at *Nhattin:ai* 15:4 (nhalam). Likewise at *Nhattin:ai* 135:9 ; 187:10 ; 299:9 ; *Akanha:nu:tu* 103:13-14 தம்மொடு தானே சென்ற நலனும், the same complaint is made about the heroine having lost her virginal chastity at the hands of her lover. The poems of this nature are stamped with a deep pathos, which breathes out of every syllable of the short pithy sentences in which this sentiment of heartfelt grief at her abandonment by her new-found lover is conveyed.

I cite here a few sentences from the *Kutunhthokai* :—

என நலன்........கானக நாடனொடு ஒழிந்தன்றே
54: 1-5 en nhalan......ka:naka nha:t:anot:u ol-inhthante:

யானே ஈண்டையனே என்நலனே
ஆனாநோயொடு கானலஃதே

97: 1-2 ya:ne: i'n:t:aiye:ne:. en nhalane:
a:na: nho:yot:u ka:nalaxthe:

விழவு மேம்பட்ட என்நலனே
தண்ணம் துறைவனொடு கண்மாறினறே

125: 4-7 vil-avu me:mpat:t:a en nhalane:
than:n.anh thutaivanot:u kan:ma:tinte:

நலம் புதிது உண்ட புலம்பினானே

133: 5 nhalam puthithu un:t:a pulampina: ne:

In his Comm. on the *Kutunhthokai* U. V. Saminathaiyar explains the above-mentioned term "nhakutal" as "al:av-al:a:vuthal" i.e. sexual intercourse. He elucidates this still further in these words: இஃது இடக்கர் அடக்கிக் கூறியது. Cf. op. cit. p. 477, 750, 771. At *Kutunhthokai* 399:3 he explains "thot:uthal" in the same way. இடக்கர் அடக்கல் means avoiding indecent terms or vulgar language, euphemism.

In connexion with the incidents referred to above, namely the meeting of the lovers, their cherished union and subsequent parting, a variety of apt similes abounds in the *Kutunhthokai*. Stanza 399, a complete poem in just four lines, will serve to illustrate one such simile.

ஊருண் கேணி உண்துறைத் தொக்க
பாசி அற்றே பசலை, காதலர்
தொடுவுழித் தொடுவுழி நீங்கி,
விடுவுழி விடுவுழிப் பரத்த லானே.

Whether this is the truth or a mere poetic convention, the poets of the Love Poems in *Kutunhthokai, Nhattin:ai, Akanah:nu:tu* and *Aingkutunhutu* (ஐங்குறுநூறு) speak of a certain sallowness or paleness of complexion from love-sickness on the part of the heroine. *Akanah:nu:tu* 156:17 explains it as மணிமருள் மேனி பொன்நிறம் கொளலே.

They term it pacalai, which M. L., at p. 2396, explains thus: காமநோயால் உண்டாம் நிற வேறுபாடு Let us return to *Kutunhthokai* 399. This sallowness is compared to the moss on the surface of the village-well or tank. When her beloved is beside her and she can be intimately united with him, her sallowness shrinks, just as the moss shrinks when people draw water out of the well. On the other hand, when her beloved withdraws from her, her sallowness spreads, just as the moss spreads, when all the villagers withdraw from their well, as, for instance, at night.

E. The Clothing of Women in the *Kutunhthokai*

The earliest poems of Tamil classical antiquity reveal a stage of material culture that is rather primitive in certain respects. when it is compared with the advanced stage of civilization that we notice in later Tamil poems like *Cilappathika:ram*, *Man:ime:kalai* and *Ci:vaka cinhtha:man:i*. Take dress, for instance. In several poems of the *Kutunhthokai* the dress of the heroine is described as consisting of nothing more than the leaves of certain trees, like the a:mpal or the ceyalai, the Asoka tree. At *Kutunhthokai* 214:4-5 thirunhthil-ai alkutkup perunhthal-ai uthavic ceyalai mulu-muthal ol-iya, there is no doubt about this fact. *It is no mere poetical convention.* Let any one who doubts this read and ponder over *Kutunhthokai* 294:5-7.

துத்திப்பரந்தள் பைத்தகல் அல்குல்
திருந்திழை துயல்வுக்கோட் டசைத்த பசுங்குழைத்
தழையினும் உழையிற் போகான்.

The poet describes these leaves as still fresh and green round the heroine's waist. There are several more references to this primitive dress in the *Kutunhthokai* e.g. 125:3; 159:1 ; 223:4 muti=tal-ai, Comm. ; 293:5-6 ; 295:2 ; 333:3 ; 342:5 ; 345:4. The *Nhattin:ai* and *Akanah:nu:tu* which approach closest to the time of the composition of the *Kutunhthokai* stanzas, both contain quite a few references of the

same nature, the former at 96:7-8 ; 170:2-3 ; the latter at 7: 2 ; 59:5 ; 156:9-10 ; 176:13-14 ; 188:12 ; 189:8 ; 226:3 ; 259:2. Let the reader contrast with this primitive dress the garments of rich cloth, woven out of exquisite thread, called "kalingkam", "thukil" or "atuvai", worn by the members of the fair sex of a slightly later time. As time goes on, this cloth becomes more and more prominent. In the *Kutunhthokai* there is no mention of either "atuvai" or "thukil"; and "kalingkam" is mentioned only once, at 167:2, which states : kal-uvutu kalingkam kal-a:athu ut:i:i. *Nhattin:ai* has more than one reference thereto, namely at 20:4 துளங்கியல் அசைவரக் கலிங்கம் துயல்வர; பூங்கலிங்கம் and at 380:2 கலிங்கம். Likewise, "atuvai" *occurs* at least twice in *Nhattin:ai*, namely at 40:5

வெறியுற விரிந்த அறுவை and at 70:2

துறைபோகு அறுவைத் தூமடி அன்ன.

Akanah:nu:tu has likewise at least five references thereto, namely at 86:21-23 ; 124 in the title of the author of the poem ; 136:20 ; 198:6 ; 236:11 (pat:t:u=silk). *Pathittup-paththu*, although dealing with war, not with love and therefore, like Virgil's *Aenid*, singing more of arms and the man[1] than of women and their clothes, has nevertheless several references to this exquisite garment of women, e.g. at 12:21

நூலாக் கலிங்கம் வாலரைக் கொளீஇ;

and again at 76:13

கழுபுறு சலிங்கம் கடுப்பச் சூடி;

and as "atuvai" at 34:3

இருநிலம் தோயும் விரிநூல் அறுவையர்.

Other references in the major classics thereto are :

Kaliththokai 65:4 ; 142:26 ;

Porunhara:ttuppat:ai 82-83 ; *Nhet:unhalva:ṭ:ai* 35, 145-7 (pu:nhthukil) ;

Malaipat:ukat:a:m 561 (Nhul-ai nhu:l kalingkam).

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[1] "arma virumque cano".

In the next section I shall give more instances of the rich clothes worn by men and women of later times than this. Let a few references suffice here.

(a) *Man:ime:kalai* 28:52-53 gives an elaborate description of this "atuvai":—

> கண்ணுழை கல்லா நுண்நூற் கைவினை
> வண்ண அறுவையர்.

This passage describes the weavers of this coloured and delicately-woven cloth.

(b) *Cilappathika:ram* 14:205-7 describes the cloth shops of drapers as covering both sides of a street in Mathurai. Piles of the most exquisitely-worked cloth of both cotton and wool as well as of silk are to be found in these shops :

> நூலினும் மயிரினும் நுழைநூற் பட்டினும்
> பால்வகை தெரியாப் பல்நூறு அடுக்கத்து
> நறுமடி செறிந்த அறுவை வீதியும்.

What a far cry is this wealth of drapery from that stage of leaf-garments which is described in the vast majority of the *Kutunhthokai* poems !

F. Cotton, Cloth and Dress in the *Kutunhthokai* Contrasted with those of a later Epoch.

It will be interesting for us to know what types of clothes were used by men and women of those early times. As usual, the *Kutunhthokai* with but one exception, speaks only of the coarse cotton cloth that *a priori* would have come into use in the earliest times. It terms it "thick cloth": "paru:uth thiri" at 330:4 ; but at 353:5 the word "thiri" means a wick, not cloth, so that "panjci ven: thiri" comes to mean "the cotton-wick of a lamp." That cotton was then cultivated is evident from 72:4 of the same work, where cotton is called "pari:i," instead of "parutti": பரீஇ வித்திய ஏனல், i.e. "the millet-field, wherein

cotton was sown". There is only one other reference to cotton in the whole of the *Kutunhthokai* and that refers to cotton-fibre, used as cords, viz. at 293:2. From the paucity of these references to either cotton or cloth or clothes, one is tempted to conclude that clothing was just then coming into vogue. Let us contrast this with the state of elaborate clothing in slightly later times, as revealed in the Ten Idylls and *Putanah:nu:tu*. By this time several sorts of cloth were in vogue :—

(1) *Atuvai.* This was cotton cloth, but of a finer texture than the "thiri" above-mentioned, and occurs at *Putanah:nu:tu* 154:10 ; 398:20 ; *Porunhara:ttuppat:ai* 83 ; *Citupanjamu:lam* (சிறுபஞ்சமூலம்) 236 ; *Nhet:unnalva:t:ai* 35. The *Kutunhthokai* does not mention this cloth at all, as we have earlier pointed out.

(2) *kalingkam.* This was woven out of the finest cotton thread, so fine that the thread was hardly visible. This exquisite cloth is mentioned at *Putanha:nu:tu* 383:11 ; 392:15 ; 393:18 ; 397:15 ; 400:13 ; *Mathuraikka:nji* 554, 721 ; *Nhet:unnalva:t:ai* 134, 146 ; *Malaippat:ukat:a:m* 561.

(3) *thukil.* This is explained by the Comm. as "ven:pat:t:u", i.e. white silk, evidently a costly dress, worn mostly by women, as one gathers from the numerous references thereto from *Akanah:nu:tu* and *Putanah:nu:tu* down to *Ci:vaka cinhtha:man:i.* The *Kutunhthokai* never mentions this : but "thukil" is referred to at several places in other works.[2] The *Paripa:t:al* which many consider to be the latest of the Eight Anthologies, has also several references to

[2] *Akanha:nu:tu* 387:7 ; *Putanha:nu:tu* 337:9 ; *Perumpa:n:a:ttuppat:ai* 235, 329 ; *Mullaippa:t:t:u* 53 ; *Nhet:unhalva:t:ai* 145, 181 ; *Pat:t:inappa:lai* 107, 168 ; *Kutinjippa:t:u* 55 ; *Maruka:ttuppat:ai* 15, 296 ; and at *Ci:vaka-cinhtha:man:i* 34d (with kot:i), 67b, 71a, 164b (with kil-i), 235a (with nhu:l). 428b (compared to the spray from a mountain-stream), 617a (where it is expressly called ven:thukil = white silk), 624a (the same), 873d, 375a,

"thukil".[3] This cloth was generally interwoven with threads depicting flowers.

(4) *thu:* (v) *ut:ai* occurs a *Muruka:ttuppaṭ:ai* 138. It really consists of two words "thu:" = pure and "ut : ai" = dress. The Comm. generally equates this cloth with "kalingam" above.

(5) *pat : t : u* = silk cloth. This term occurs not only at *Akanah:nu:tu* 236:11, as I have already stated, but also at *Pat:t:inappa:lai* 107 and *Muruka:ttup-pat:ai* 155. In this last place it is called pat:t:-ut:ai = silk dress. We notice three things :

(a) *Kutunhthokai* does not have the words "atuvai", "thu : (v) ut : ai", "thukil" and mentions "kalingam" but once.

(b) *Muruka:ttuppat:ai,* which is considered to be the latest of the Ten Idylls is the only one that uses the noun "ut:ai" for dress, although the verbal form "ut:i:i = "having dressed, clothed oneself or others", is fairly frequent in the 18 major classics.

(c) Although the word-lists at the end of the Ten Idylls or of the Eight Anthologies give the word "a:t:ai" = dress, I have never come across this word *in their actual texts*. Almost the earliest instance of "a:t:ai" in this sense is at *Pal-amol-i* 26d: "an:i ella:m a:t:aiyin pin" = jewels come after one's dress. *Kutunhthokai*

931a, 1077a, 1094a, 1184d, 1481b, 1558c, 1568b, 1572c, 1715a (with an:ai), 1863d, 2213d (with mut:i), 2475b (with ceppu = a bronze box, wherein these costly dresses were kept), 2505c (with ce:kkai = the bed covered over with silk), 2635b and 2663a (*with the attribute "paim"* = soft), 2685b (kan:kol: l:a:th thukil, which the Comm. explains as இழை தெரியாத ஆடை = the cloth the texture of which is invisible to the naked eye), 2707c (with pu:nhita), 2880a (*where it seems to refer to men's dress*), at *Ci:vaka cinhtha:man:i* 344c it is termed அணங்கு நுண் துகில் which Nhacc. explains as இழை தெரியாது வருந்தும் நுண்ணிய துகில்.

[3] At 7:46; 10:79 and 80; 12.93 and 98; 13:2; 16:23; 17:1; 22:19.

295 : 1 supports the sense of this proverb or wise saying thus :—

உடுத்தும் தொடுத்தும் பூண்டும் செரீஇயும்

having clothed ourselves first and then adorned ourselves diversely.

We shall not be off the mark in seeing an intimate connexion between "at:ai"=leaf[4] and "a:t:ai"=dress. This contention appears valid in view of (1) the closeness of meaning between words of the same nature with short and long initial syllables, e.g. kan:=eye and ka:n=to see; pat:u=to suffer and pa:t:u=suffering; (2) the alternance in the length of the basic vowel between early classical Tamil and mediaeval Tamil, which I shall tackle later; and (3) what I have stated above the green-leaf dress of antiquity.

G. How the *Kutunhthokai* Anthology was completed.

When one reads through the Commentaries of Nhacc. on the *Tholka:ppiam* and on other works, one constantly comes across citations from the early classics. Most of these are to be found in the extant classics, mainly the Eight Anthologies. But quite a few are not in them. Thus in Part I of his Comm. on the *Tholka:ppiam Porul:athika:ram* on page 553 is found a love poem of seven lines, which cannot be traced to any of the extant Anthologies. On page 556 is found another, of five lines; on the next page there is a third, consisting of seven lines. At the end of page 558, there is a fourth of three lines. On page 568 is a fifth, likewise of three lines. A sixth is to be found at the end of page 574. All these six stanzas are to be found in the Comm. of Nhacc. on but one sūtra of *Tholka:ppiam Porul:-adhika:ram,* namely 146. Similarly, on *Tholka:ppiam*

[4] At *Kutunhthokai* 9:4; 246:2; 352:1; *Putanah:nu:tu* 103:10; 266:3; *Mathuraika:nji* 624; *Paripa:t:al* 13:50; *Ci:vaka cinhtha:man:i* 2674a.

Porul:athika:ram, sūtra 114, Nhacc. has several citations: of these, the first (on p. 454), the fourth and fifth (on p. 455), the second and third citations on p. 459, the second on p. 462, the second, third and fourth on p. 471, the third on p. 473, consisting of four lines, the third on p. 486, also of four lines, the first on p. 488, likewise of four lines, all the three stanzas on p. 493, the last on p. 499, the last on p. 514, etc. are samples. There are several more throughout the work. Most of these stanzas are of the same style as the *Kutunhthokai* and, like its poems, range between four and eight lines. All of them deal with love and are composed in the "*akaval*" metre, just like the *Kutunhthokai.* In diction they appear contemporary with that work. Hence we are obliged to surmise that the compilers of the *Kutunhthokai* rejected them on the ground that they did not come up to that level of excellence of sentiment and expression, which they had laid down as their standard.

Now let us advert to what Dr. U. V. Saminathaiyar states on page 11 of his afore-mentioned Introduction to *Kutunhthokai.* "The compilers of the Eight Anthologies had before them poems composed in the three metres:— a:ciriyappa: (i.e. akaval), kālippa: and paripa:t:al. They first took up the poems composed in the akaval metre and dealing with love. These they divided into three groups, starting with the shortest ones and ending with the longest poems. The shortest poems were therefore called the *Kutunh thokai*, while the longest were termed the *Nhet:unh thokai.*" From this assertion of the eminent Doctor as well as from my statements and arguments throughout this article, it is quite clear that the *Kutunhthokai* was the earliest compilation of Tamil poems extant.

Two pages earlier, the same learned Doctor makes an admission, which was (independently of him) made by K. N. Sivarajapillai in his "Chronology of the Early Tamils". The compilers had another standard in their

mind's eye, besides that of excellence. This was to make each of the four earliest Anthologies consist of 400 poems. For this purpose they did not hesitate, when the need arose, to compose a few of their own or to take over a poem or several ones of their own time, although they were supposed to be collecting poems of five or six centuries earlier than their own time.

" அவற்றைத் தொகுத்தவர்கள் ஒவ்வொன்றிலும் நானூறு பாக்கள் இருக்கும்படி தம் காலத்துப் புலவர்கள் இயற்றியவற்றையும் சேர்த்து அமைத்தார்கள் என்று கருத இடம் உண்டாகின்றது."

Fortunately in the case of the *Kutunhthokai* there was no need for them to supplement the earlier poems with later ones, composed by contemporary poets of their own time: for there was such an abundance of these early *short* poems, as I have already shown. In the case of *Nhattin:ai* and still more of *Akanah:nu:tu* and *Putanah:nu:tu* there seems to have been such a need. It is this fact that explains the peculiar antiquity of style and diction on the part of the *Kutunhthokai* and the exceptional conformity of this anthology, in preference to all others, to the ancient regulations, enunciated at *Tholka:ppiam Elu-ththathika:ram* 62, 64 and 65, which I have already elucidated above.

H. An Objection and the Answer to it.

The Objection:—We now know that the Dravidian civilisation in India itself goes as far back as the third millennium B.C. How is it then that you can state that the *Kutunhthokai* poems show the ancient Tamils or Tamilians in the *primitive* stage of culture, with women clad in leaf-garments and with cotton clothes just coming into vogue, about the third or fourth century B.C.?

The Answers:—(1) In three of my articles to "Tamil Culture", namely "the Affinities between the Ancient Cultures of Crete and Egypt and those of India and

Sumer", Part I[5] and Part II,[6] and "the Exact Connexion between the Harappan and Sumerian Cultures",[7] I have myself maintained that the Harappan culture is Dravidian and that it dates from at least 2,700 B.C. in North India. But I have also stated there that under the hammer-blows of Indra's war-bands, aided by the swift horse-drawn chariots that the Aryans were the first to employ in war, the Harappan Empire and, to a great extent, the Harappan civilisation were destroyed about 1,800 B.C. It happens often in the course of history that without the physical basis of material welfare, minimum comforts and a bit of elegance, as a result of destruction by repeated earthquakes, as in Crete, or of wars, as in Mexico, with the consequent poverty and destitution, an ancient and flourishing civilisation is almost totally obliterated and is only with great difficulty and by slow stages rebuilt. Such may very well have been the case with the Dravidians in India.

(2) It is true that in my article to "Tamil Culture", "the Earliest Tamil Poems Extant",[8] I have maintained that *Kutunhthokai* 75 and *Akanah:nu:tu* 265 were composed when the Nandas were in the height of their splendour and before the accession of the Maurya Emperors to the throne of Pa:t:aliputhra in North India, i.e. c. 324 B.C. But there is nothing to prevent a few of the *Kutunhthokai* poems being composed much earlier than this. Further research is necessary in this matter.

(3) It is good to have more than one string to one's bow. Accordingly I am prepared to give an alternate explanation for the phenomena, which I have exposed in sections E and F above. The Tamils, like many Eastern peoples, are great traditionalists, especially on festive and ceremonial occasions. Tamilians, who throughout their

[5] Vol. IV, 2, pages 169 to 175.

[6] Vol. V, 1, pages 56 to 65.

[7] Vol. V, 4, October 1956.

[8] Vol. IV, 1, pages 90 to 98.

lives use tables and chairs for their meals which are served on plates, are known even today to discard all this and their forks, spoons and knives as well, when they are invited for a wedding feast. Then they recline on a mat or mattress and consume the festive meal of rice and many curries with their hands out of plaintain-leaves. On this analogy we may state that while the female sex in the *Kutunhthokai* days used cotton clothes ordinarily, the heroine was decked in leaf-garments on ceremonial occasions : and these happen to be the very ones mentioned in the *Kutunhthokai* poems concerned. This does not detract from their antiquity.

Kannan Pattu

(Translation from Bharati)

P. S. SUNDARAM

A poem is the product of an individual temperament; It is also conditioned by the peculiarities of the language in which it is written, and the race and culture of which it is the efflorescence. That in these circumstances it is essentially untranslatable is a truism. "It were", wrote Shelley, "as wise to cast a violet into a crucible that you might discover the formal principles of its colour and odour, as seek to transfuse from one language into another the creations of a poet".

But great poetry is not only the product of an individual and a race but also, both in its origin and appeal, universal. The great poet belongs to all the world, and unless his greatness is of a quality to be perceived even through a (reasonably good) translation, it is idle to claim that he is a world poet—only his greatness cannot be gauged by anybody unacquainted with his language!

In his programme for Tamil which Bharati drew up in one of his poems, he made it clear that it is no use our whispering to each other in secret about our ancient glory. "The test of great poetry is that people of other countries also should recognise its greatness".

The following translation was made with the conviction that, properly rendered, Bharati could make a profound impression as a lyric poet on foreign readers. Throbbing with emotion and exquisitely musical, his poems are best rendered in English in regular metres with all the resources of rhyme.

The poem that follows is taken from Bharati's *Kannan Pāttu,* a series of lyrics extolling Krishna in his various aspects of Friend, Father, Mother and Child, Teacher and Student, King, Playboy, Servant and Master, Lover and Beloved, Family Goddess. There are twenty-three of these poems, many of them in the form, popularised by Browning, of dramatic lyrics. Though Krishna is the form more widely known, the Tamil form Kannan used by the poet has been retained. Those whose mother tongue is Hindi should have no difficulty in recognising in this form their *Kanha* or *Kanhai.*

KANNAN, MY BELOVED

Like a fly on a hook,
  Like a flame in the breeze,
My poor heart a-flutter
  Throbbed in unease;
Like a caged parrot
  I moped all alone—
What most pleased me once
  Now made me groan.

கண்ணன்—என் காதலன்

தூண்டிற் புழுவினைப்போல்—வெளியே
  சுடர் விளக்கினைப் போல்,
நீண்ட பொழுதாக—எனது
  நெஞ்சந் துடித்த தடீ!
கூண்டுக் கிளியினைப் போல்—தனிமை
  கொண்டு மிகவும் நொந்தேன்;
வேண்டும் பொருளை யெல்லாம்—மனது
  வெறுத்துவிட்ட தடீ!

Stretched on my mat,
  Fretful and weary,
I fouħd even my mother
  Dismal and dreary :
And as for you friends
  Ceaselessly chattering,
Like a disease I dreaded you
  And your pattering.

No food for me, dear,
  No sleep and no rest ;
Nor fragrance in aught—
  Even flowers the best ;
No firmness, no fixity,
  Only confusion ;
No joy even fleeting,
  Pain in profusion.

பாயின் மிசை நானும்—தனியே
  படுத் திருக்கையி லே,
தாயினைக் கண்டாலும்,—சகியே !
  சலிப்பு வந்த தடீ !
வாயினில் வந்ததெல்லாம்,—சகியே !
  வளர்த்துப் பேசிடு வீர் ;
நோயினைப் போலஞ்சி னேன் ; —சகியே !
  நுங்க ளுறவையெல் லாம்.

உணவு செல்லவில்லை ;—சகியே !
  உறக்கங் கொள்ளவில்லை.
மணம் விரும்பவில்லை ;—சகியே !
  மலர் பிடிக்கவில்லை ;
குண முறுதி யில்லை ;—எதிலும்
  குழப்பம் வந்த தடீ !
கணமும் உள்ளத்திலே—சுகமே
  காணக் கிடைத்த தில்லை.

Milk tasted bitter
  And bed proved a-scarring ;
Dear Polly's twitter
  Hateful and jarring :
Four doctors in conference
  Said, " Too late they have seen us " ;
The bridge-side astrologer
  Blamed Saturn and Venus.

In a dream, on a night,
  Unseen, unknown,
Somebody touched me—
  My heart's very own.
Woke I a-quiver
  My sweet one to capture :
Naught was to seize there
  Except the rapture !

பாலுங் கசந்த தடீ !—சகியே !
  படுக்கை நொந்த தடீ !
கோலக் கிளிமொழியும்—செவியில்
  குத்த லெடுத்த தடீ !
நாலு வயித்தியரும்—இனிமேல்
  நம்புதற் கில்லை யென்றார் ;
பாலத்துச் சோசியனும்—கிரகம்
  படுத்து மென்று விட்டான்.

கனவு கண்டதிலே—ஒருநாள்
  கண்ணுக்குத் தோன்றாமல்,
இனம் விளங்க வில்லை—எவனோ
  என்னகந் தொட்டு விட்டான்.
வினவக் கண் விழித்தேன் ;—சகியே !
  மேனி மறைந்து விட்டான் ;
மனதில் மட்டிலுமே—புதிதோர்
  மகிழ்ச்சி கண்ட தடீ !

A cool wave drenched me,
  I was myself again ;
In all parts of the house
  Did my relish regain ;
Desire surged upward—
  My heart Joy's abode—
Fear was a dead thing,
  Beauty in strode !

The spot where he touched me
  With his finger and palm—
It thrills and it tingles,
  It stills and is calm.
Who is this unknown ?
  I thought and I thought :
And there stood Kannan's image
  With shapeliness wrought !

உச்சி குளிர்ந்ததடீ ;—சகியே !
  உடம்பு நேராச்சு ;
மச்சிலும் வீடுமெல்லாம்—முன்னைப்போல்
  மனத்துக் கொத்த தடீ !
இச்சை பிறந்ததடீ—எதிலும்
  இன்பம் விளைந்ததடீ ;
அச்ச மொழிந்ததடீ !—சகியே !
  அழகு வந்த தடீ !

எண்ணும் பொழுதிலெல்லாம்—அவன்கை
  இட்ட விடத்தினி லே
தண்ணென் றிருந்ததடி !—புதிதோர்
  சாந்தி பிறந்ததடீ !
எண்ணி யெண்ணிப் பார்த்தேன் ;—அவன்தான்
  யாரெனச் சிந்தை செய்தேன் ;
கண்ணன் திருவுருவம்—அங்ஙனே
  கண்ணின் முன் நின்ற தடீ !

Some Aspects relating to the Establishment and Growth of European Settlements along the Tamil Coast in the Seventeenth Century

S. ARASARATNAM.

The phenomenon of large settlements of foreign traders in the main centres of Asian trade does not begin with the coming of the Europeans to Asia. The studies of Moreland on India and Van Leur on the Malayan Archipelago have shown that there existed in both these regions trading settlements of foreigners in such places as Calicut and Malacca.[1] Arab settlements were a feature of Indian trading stations, just as Chinese colonies flourished in the Malay Archipelago. Not much evidence, however, is forthcoming on the nature of the relationship between these traders and the indigenous sovereign and the rights normally enjoyed by the former against the latter. Moreland would have us believe that even before the Europeans there was in existence a kind of mercantile extra territoriality by which the foreign settlement had acquired the right to manage a considerable part of its internal affairs without interference from the lord of the land.[2] The Mopla merchants of the Malabar and Madura coasts had their own separate heads who dispensed justice for members of their community according to their own laws and

[1] W. H. Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb* (London, 1923), pp. 220-226; J. C. Van Leur, *Indonesian Trade and Society* (The Hague, Bandung, 1955), pp. 194-196.

[2] Moreland, *op. cit.*, pp. 221-222.

freely followed their own religious and social customs and practices. Such rights exercised by foreigners were not held to interfere with the sovereignty of the ruler

When, in the 17th Century, various European powers entered into competition for the trade of India, there was no one set pattern of practices or regulations that traders could follow. Coming, as they did, from a distance of thousands of miles, it was but natural that they should try to set up more permanent habitats in the centres of trade than their Asian counterparts. With the increase in the volume of trade that each nation was handling, its ties with the Indian soil became greater. A greater number of its officials had to be stationed in India ; larger godowns were needed to store up its goods ; a greater hold was necessary on the people to whom it was increasingly larger advances of capital. Factory grew into fort, fort into settlement. While this was the broad pattern of development, the manner in which it took place varied infinitely with each power and every region. The most elementary connection was where the European power had just a hired house on the mainland which contained both its one or two officials and all its goods awaiting transportation. From there it moved on to the construction of a larger dwelling, belonging to it completely or by an eternal lease of the ground on which it was constructed. A major advance towards security was taken when the power received permission from the sovereign and constructed a fort within which its residences and all its effects were protected. This permission was grudgingly given, if ever, following a military defeat at the hand of the European power. When the European power was able to persuade the sovereign to renounce all his rights to the land on which the fort was situated, sometimes by commuted payment of the taxes that the place was obliged to bring, the fort became absolutely free of any interference from the local authority. Outright conquest was, of course, the pinnacle of authority which few European powers could afford.

Once the fort was constructed and some measure of security ensured for the European the settlement grew. The officers found it safe to live with their families within the area of the Fort. Thus a European community sprang up and around them, attending to their needs and performing the various functions connected with their trade, collected an indigenous community of mixed castes. The greater the security afforded by the place, the larger the European community, the bigger the town and its Indian population. The 17th Century, generally speaking, was in South India a period of instability and political strife. This feature in turn affected the growth of European settlements in some cases favourably, in others adversely.

The legacy of the preceding century is of some importance. The Portuguese had held undisputed supremacy as the only Western power along the Indian coast. Their attention was centred predominantly on the Malabar coast and later northwards to Goa and Daman. However, as they realised the potentiality of the cloth trade between the Carnatic coast and the East Indian Islands, small settlements of Portuguese traders began to grow up on the Eastern coast too. Of these the most noteworthy is that of San Thome. The prevalence of a legend connecting up this place with the Apostle St. Thomas encouraged the proselytising zeal of the Portuguese who erected a church here. In the course of the 16th Century, this settlement seems to have developed both into a seat of intensive Catholic missionary activity and of prosperous trade. Travellers' accounts of both this century and the next speak of the existence of several churches, monasteries and a Jesuit College. The many legends that were current in these times and reports of miracles connected with various aspects of the Apostle St. Thomas made the place a centre of pilgrimage not only for Catholics but even for Hindus from villages round about. There was a large Parish of Christian converts looked after by several priests. It would appear that a spacious and well-constructed town had grown

up here and a considerable harbour handling a large volume of trade.[1]

Another region where the impact of the Portuguese was felt was along the coast of Madura in the southernmost part of the peninsula. Because of its proximity to the centres of Portuguese power in Malabar and Ceylon their influence had begun to make itself felt in the course of the century. They were attracted here by the existence in interior villages of supply centres for all manner of coarse and fine textiles and a pearl fishery along the coastline. With the acquisition of Tuticorin there followed a gradual process of penetration ending up not merely in the control of Tuticorin and the seven other harbours here but even of an undisputed exercise of civil and criminal jurisdiction over the Paravas who inhabited these harbours. This development was helped by the fact that the Nayaks of Madura were not greatly concerned with the control of trade and the exercise of authority over the coastline. This they seem to have left in the hands of the Paravas, Muslims of the coast and foreigners, being merely content to maintain an open door policy with regard to trade.[2] The way was thus open for the superior European power to emerge into a position of dominance. Local events themselves played into their hands. There had always been friction between the Parava and the Muslim inhabitants of the coast. In the course of one of these internecine conflicts the Paravas hit upon the expedient of summoning aid from the Portuguese who willingly took them under their protection. Under the protection of the Portuguese the Paravas were established in positions of dominance along the coast and in return they embraced Christianity *en masse*. A few years later Francis Xavier, the celebrated missionary, took up residence

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[1] All evidence collected together in Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras* I (London, 1913), pp. 286-305.

[2] S. Arunachalam, *History of the Pearl Fishery on the Tamil Coast* (Annamalai Nagar, 1952), pp. 96-8.

among the Paravas and instructed the people who had embraced Christianity only in name.[1]

These events had given the Portuguese a political and a religious foothold on the Madura coast. There were no Portuguese settlements as such here. There was no place conducive to the development of European settlements. But the religious tie was strengthened and the whole coast was littered with churches and seminaries. Early observers of the Dutch East India Company, which displaced the Portuguese, speak of the immense influence of the priests over the people. There were three large churches in Tuticorin built of stone. Each of the smaller ports had a church of its own. The influence of Catholicism in this region may be gauged from the fact that later on, when the Portuguese had lost their political control over Ceylon, Madura became the centre of clandestine missionary activity in Dutch possessions. The Portuguese settlement proper in this area is further eastwards in Nagapatnam. This was a walled-in town built and owned by the Portuguese and was the seat of their naval and military power in this region. There were, consequently, several Portuguese families in residence here and an active social life. This is evidenced from the fact that when they were expelled from this place in 1658 the Dutch found that the majority of the inhabitants were either *Mestices* (in the definition of a contemporary Dutch writer) 'such as are born of a Portuguese father and a she blackamoor', or *Kastices* 'such as their fathers were blackamoors and their mothers Portuguese women'.[2] Here too there were several large churches and houses built according to Portuguese fashion.

It is evident that though actual Portuguese settlements on the Tamil coast were few and far between their influence was felt in several of the trading centres in this region.

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[1] G. M. Moraes, *St. Francis Xavier Apostolic Nuncio*, 1542-52 (Bombay, 1952).

[2] Mr. John Nieuhoff's remarkable Voyages and Travels in *A Collection of Voyages and Travels II* (London, 1745), pp. 198-199.

Their religion proved to be a notable medium for the extension of their influence and had penetrated parts of the coastline. Their comparative freedom of intercourse with the native inhabitants had resulted in a group of half-caste peoples who inhabited some of the sea ports. As privateers and fidalgos they were found all over, sometimes sailing their own vessels, at other times in the employ of private Indian merchants. Long after their political power in India had declined their influence remained and, as will be seen later, they played an important role in the founding and development of many a European settlement in India.

The 17th Century brings more European nations into the scene. Dutch, English, Danes and French, in turn, seek their fortunes in Asian trade. The Coromandel coast, forming a vital link in this trade, attracts all of them who begin to work for footholds in this area which would give them positions of vantage in relation to the trade. Ideas of monopoly and political control follow in the wake of competition. Trade has to be backed by power if it is to be safeguarded from an enemy nation or even to be wrested from her. This power has to be lodged at convenient points along the coastline and secured from both the Europeans as well as indigenous states. A new emphasis is thus given to the problem of European settlements. As a result of this European competition, the share of the Europeans in the country trade which had been negligible in the preceding century, now began to increase by leaps and bounds. The European trading nations were thus on the look out for suitable places along the coast which may be used as centres of their trade. None of them was looking for political aggrandizement. It was sufficient if, by consent with the native authority they could lease out strategically situated places insured with certain recognised rights.

The first reaction of the native powers was to receive the prospective traders with open arms and bestow several favours on them. The powers encountered little or no diffi-

culty in contracting treaties with local princes guaranteeing certain privileges. In the first place they were permitted to occupy a certain demarcated territory and to erect structures for their residence and storage of goods. In April 1610, the Dutch East India Company entered into a treaty with the Raja of Carnatic by which they were allowed to reside and trade at Pulicat (Paleacatte). They were to pay toll on all incoming and outgoing goods at the concession rate of 2%.[1] Two years later by a further treaty they were allowed to construct a fortress there which they completed soon after with the name of Fortress Geldria.[2] Later when the King of Golconda overran the Carnatic, a treaty was entered into with him by which they were given complete freedom of tolls at Pulicat.[3] In 1639 the English acquired similar concessions at Madras. They negotiated with the Nayak Damarla Venkatadri, Governor of the area for the King of Carnatic, and received the right to trade freely there and to construct a fortress. This was Fort St. George. They were also exempted from the payment of all customs dues.[4] When in 1658 the Dutch had expelled the Portuguese from Nagapatnam, they sought to reinforce this right to conquest with a treaty of recognition with the Nayak of Tanjore in whose domains the city lay. Here too they secured freedom from tolls.[5] Thus all the trading powers were unanimous in their desire to secure some recognised title to their settlements and to put the whole problem of customs dues on a definite footing.

The right to construct fortresses and keep the settlements in a state of preparedness for war was generally desired by the European power but not always granted. It was desired because it would give the Europeans the security that was necessary for the expansion of their trade and would provide a defensive shield behind which the

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[1] *Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlando—Indicum*, Ed. Heeres. (Hague, Batavia, 1887-1931), I, p. 84.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 101.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 230.
[4] W. Foster, *English Factories in India*, 1637-41, p. 157.
[5] *Corpus Dip.*, II, p. 138.

settlement could develop. Madras and Pulicat, the two settlements that prospered in these years, owed their prosperity mostly to their fortified character. It was not always granted because it would cut into the sovereignty of the indigenous state if it were to admit an armed power within its borders. On the coast of Madura, the Dutch tried their best to secure permission to erect a fortress. Successive deputations were sent to the Nayak and peaceful persuasion as well as force was used but the Nayak was adamant in his refusal to permit an armed fortress anywhere in his domains. He was, however, quite willing to give the Dutch the right to build ordinary houses anywhere along the sea coast for purposes of trade.[1] The history of the Dutch settlement at Tuticorin illustrates the practicality of European policy in this respect. More than once the armies of the Nayak attacked the settlement and the Dutch had to withdraw with all their movable assets into the security of their possessions in Ceylon.

The right to administer justice and punish offenders for acts done within the area of European jurisdiction was generally given without any fuss. This provision is seen in its most effective aspect where it relates to the enforcement of payment of debts that merchants have incurred on the delivery of goods for which advance payment has already been made. There had to be some effective machinery to ensure the security of money invested by the Europeans in the land. The *Caul*[2] granted by the Madura Nayak to the Dutch in June 1645 states : "You shall have right of preference on all merchants who trade with you and are in debt to you ; your money will be paid first even from what they owe me ".[3] In Pulicat they were given the right to seize and place under arrest anyone who failed to fulfil a contract for the delivery of cloth.[4] In Madras the native authority promised the English that they would make good

[1] *Corpus Dip.*, II, p. 145.
[2] 'A lease or grant in writing' see *Hobson-Jobson* SV COWLE.
[3] *Corpus Dip.*, I, p. 456.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 83-85.

any sum the English may lose through defaulting merchants or weavers and deliver their persons to the English authority if they happen to abscond in the interior.[1] Another aspect to this problem was the administration of criminal justice within the settlements in order to preserve law and order. Generally there was agreement to return absconding criminals in each other's territories. There is record of a murder committed in Madras and the Naik was informed of it. Though those involved were native inhabitants the Nayak issued instructions that justice be done according to the laws of England.[2] For the development and prosperity of the settlement it was essential that it received a reputation for orderly government and impartial administration of justice.

Geographically, most settlements tendeded to divide themselves into two sections—a European quarter and a quarter inhabited by local inhabitants. The European quarter was situated along the sea and would consist of buildings used as stores and houses for the officers. If there were a fort it would usually embrace the European section of the town as in Madras and Pulicat. The soldiers were generally stationed here and the place was so fashioned that in the event of an attack from inland they could protect their lives and property within this fortification. Beyond this was the native town where lived the merchants, labourers who performed all kinds of services to the Europeans and, in some instances, those few Indians who had become Christian converts. Sometimes, as in Nagapatnam and Tuticorin, entire families of weavers chose to leave their villages and settle down under European jurisdiction, particularly if they found the native authority exacting in its impositions. When sufficiently good relations had been established with the local authority and the people as to produce a sense of general security, European families ventured out of the fort and lived in the native quarter. This was unavoidable

[1] Foster, *English Factories*, 1637-41, p. 157.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 315.

later as the European population increased and all could not find room within the fortified town. In Madras towards the latter half of the 17th Century most of the subordinate employees of the Company, both civil and military, were living in the outer town. It is seen from Abbe Carre's observations that it was not unusual to meet Englishmen and other Europeans in the interior of the country.[1]

The growth of the settlement and the prevalence of an active social life within it depended on several considerations. Some of the powers followed more restrictive policies than others and this hindered progress. The rapid development of the English settlement at Madras as contrasted with the Dutch at Pulicat showed the advantages of a more liberal general attitude. European observers of the 17th Century of all nationalities are unanimous in their view that the city of Madras was a model European settlement in India and was far ahead of others of the same type. Though at the beginning of the century, the English began their career in the East as rivals of the Portuguese and allies of the Dutch, after the first three decades this position changed and from then on they were more friendly towards the Portuguese than to the Dutch. The Portuguese were by now feeling the full force of Dutch opposition to their positions in the East and hence were becoming increasingly dependent on the English. Thus, though to begin with they opposed the establishment of an English settlement so close to their own at San Thome, later on there were friendly relations and mutual co-operation between them. The circumstances that favoured most the rise of Madras, however, was the fall of San Thome to the King of Golconda in 1662. This resulted in a mass exodus of Portuguese and their dependents to Madras. Thus the population of Madras increased immensely and the English were in possession of valuable man-power of the type they could use for their diverse needs. It was observed by several people in the latter half of the 17th Century that there were

[1] The Travels of Abbe Carre, 1672-1674 (London, 1947) II, p. 358.

plenty of Portuguese settled in the city of Madras. Some of them were taken into the local defence force and supplemented the usually meagre English garrison. "The number of English may amount to three hundred", says a contemporary, Fryer (1673), "of Portuguese as many thousand".[1] Some of the Portuguese were men of considerable affluence, being successful traders. But most of them were odd jobmen and not particularly well off. There was a carefully maintained distinction among them of white Portuguese and black Portuguese and intermarriage between these two groups was very rare. The latter were those who had intermarried with Indian races while the former had maintained their racial purity. Their general living habits left much to be desired.

One of the factors that attracted the Portuguese and their Indian co-religionists to Madras was the toleration in matters of religion practised by the English. To begin with, the Indian states granted to every European power that sought to settle along this coast the right of unhindered practice of its own religion. It was in the divisions between Catholics and Protestants that the trouble arose. It has been seen above that the Portuguese had succeeded in establishing pockets of Catholicism in many parts of the coast. The later Protestant powers would naturally be expected to view those with hostility. Happily for the prosperity of the English settlement of Madras, these differences were not allowed to come in the way of a policy of religious tolerance. In fact, both from official records and unofficial travellers' diaries, there is evidence of a flourishing and active Catholic community, public worship of their faith in their churches and priests to attend to their spiritual wants. Much of this was due to the existence for a long time of two French Capuchin priests, Father Ephraim and Zenon, who maintained cordial relations with the political authority and won several concessions for the Catho-

[1] John Fryer, *A New Account of East India and Persia* (London, 1909) I, p. 107.

lics. Owing to their long residence in the country (over 40 years) they had a phenomenal knowledge of local customs and habits and were of immense help to the English in matters of trade and politics.[1] Besides the English preferred having them in the settlement to having Portuguese priests of whom they were very suspicious.[2]

The split in the Christian faith which so dominated the history of Europe in these years was reflected in the East also. Largely owing to the influence wielded by the two French priests and the presence of a large Portuguese community, Catholicism appeared to be much more virile than Anglicanism in Madras. This offended the Anglican priests who urged the officials to take strong action against Catholicism. Even among the employees of the Company, there appeared to be several Catholics and others who embraced Catholicism because of their marriage with Portuguese girls who were the only whites available for matrimony. The Anglican community was not well looked after and during certain periods there was no chaplain at all in the Fort. Rules and regulations there were against the public practice of the Catholic religion but their compliance depended on the Agent and high officials of the Fort. Sir William Langhorn, Agent at Madras 1670-77, was, for example, more tolerant than most others and was very accommodating to the Catholic community. His action in firing a salute of guns at the consecration of a newly built Catholic Church in Madras brought on him the disapproval of the Directors from London who also wrote : " We........desire to give as little countenance and encouragement to that religion [Catholicism] as they do to ours ; and we would have you discountenance and discourage all of our nation that any ways incline to that profession ".[3] His successor Master (1677-1681) was less tolerant and took several measures to curtail the activities of Catholic priests and to reduce their

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[1] *Travels of Abbe Carre*, II, pp. 549-553.
[2] Fawcett, *English Factories in India*, 1670-77, II, p. 154.
[3] Quoted in J. Talboys Wheeler, *Madras in the Olden Time* (Madras, 1882), p. 47.

increasing influence over English inhabitants of the city. The Test Act of 1673 forbidding Roman Catholics from holding office under the Crown was strictly applied in India also.[1] Yet never was such drastic action taken as would result in a mass exodus of Catholics that would have affected the prosperity of the settlement.

The Dutch experienced even greater difficulty in dealing with the Catholics in their settlements. On the Madura coast they had succeeded to positions that the Portuguese had held for long and they felt that the extirpation of the political power of the Portuguese from that region should be followed by the rooting out of their religion too. In this they had to admit failure. The Parava community along the coast stuck doggedly to their faith and no amount of prohibitory bans by the Dutch would wean them away from their loyalty. The Catholic priests continued to use the Kingdom of Madura as a base for their activities and secretly attended to the needs of the Paravas. Soon after the Dutch conquest of Tuticorin in 1658, Fr. Baldaeus, a Protestant *padre* in the service of the East India Company, was asked to carry out a reformation of the Church in this town and its dependencies. He records, with frankness, the failure of his efforts and the fact that the Paravas preferred to walk miles into the country to be administered by their own priests than listen to the preaching of the Protestant religion.[2] Though their political hold over the Parava community was complete and the latter were loyal to them, they never could win them over to their religion. Language was a great barrier between the Protestant priests and the people. Very few of them could speak Tamil, while as Rev. Valentijn observes, most of the Catholic priests could speak, read and write the Tamil language.[3] The Protestant faith itself was not as attractive as Catholicism, with its rich ceremonialism. Baldaeus records that once he removed

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[1] Fawcett, *English Factories in India*, 1678-84, IV, p. 6.

[2] Baldaeus, *Naewkeurige Beschryringe Van Malabar en Choromandel, en het Eyland Ceylon* (Amsterdam, 1672), p. 150.

[3] Valentijn, *Oud en Nieuw Oost Indian V* (Amsterdam, 1726), p. 237.

the images and ornamental decorations from the Catholic Church at Tuticorin, the Paravas refused to enter it.[1]

One problem that confronted all European powers was that of keeping men of their own race in good behaviour. Authorities in most settlements were hard put to it in exercising discipline among their men. The average type that came out East were adventurous and not very educated. Those settlements which had so expanded as to necessitate Europeans living in the native quarter were the most difficult to handle. An overfondness for the bottle, consequent brawls and sexual immorality were the common vices. Everyone blamed the Portuguese as bringing down the tone of moral life in any place. The English at Madras grappled with this problem seriously as they were concerned with maintaining the reputation of the city. Regulations were introduced in 1672 limiting the opening hours and quantity of liquor served in taverns.[2] In a letter written by the Company's Chaplain at Madras, Rev. Warner, to the Directors (1676), he complains bitterly about the 'drunkenness, debauchery and profaneness' that prevailed in the settlement and the generally poor attendance at Church on Sundays.[3] The Dutch in Pulicat were faced with similar problems. They found that those soldiers who were forced to live outside the Fort generally got married to local women and their life left much to be desired. The Dutch seem to have generally had a reputation in these parts for intensive drunkenness. Daniel Havart, a contemporary Dutch writer, takes the trouble of refuting this and says that it is a story spread by their rivals, the English and the French, to tarnish their reputation.[4] However, as far as the native of Coromandel Coast was concerned, the European of this time was generally noted for his excessive drunkenness.

[1] Baldaeus, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

[2] Fawcett, *English Factories*, 1670-77, II, pp. 31, 150, 179.

[3] Quoted in Wheeler, *Madras*.........., pp. 34-36.

[4] Daniel Havart, *Op en Ondergang van Cormandel* (Amsterdam, 1693), pp. 134-5.

The Seventeenth Century is of interest in the study of Europan contact with India as being a period when the attitudes of Westerners towards Indians is not coloured by the outlook of superiority which is so characteristic of a later age. Consciousness of difference there is and Europeans in India generally feel that they are in a land of strange people and strange customs. These differences are generally given expression to in a straightforward manner and with the least inhibition. There is evidence of a general desire to learn and know more about the people among whom they lived and to accommodate themselves more to their environment. Yet the European settlements maintained a character of foreign outposts, limited in their extent and the influence they wielded in the countries where they were implanted. However, the growing interest they were showing in the religions and customs of the people around them was to bear fruit in the next century when there emerge some distinguished scholars of all nationalities who have left behind valuable works on the language, history and culture of the Indian people.

Religious Landmarks in Pudukkottai

(Continued from TAMIL CULTURE, Vol. VI, No. 1)

LEO P. BAZOU.

VELS, COLAS, PANDYAS AND THE 'MERCHANT-PRINCES'.

Grants belonging to this new period are ascribed to the Cola and Pandya monarchs, even when they were due to the generosity of the local chieftains—the Muttaraiyars, the Irukku Vēls of Kodumbalur, the Pallavaraiyars of Sendamangalam, and the Vanniyan chiefs of Sirukkudi or the more famous and more powerful Guilds of Merchant-Princes who had undertaken the expenses. There is ample evidence of the luxuries enjoyed by the more important cities of Tamilagam, and of the large trade Dravidian emporiums carried on with the rest of India as well as with foreign countries in the Far-East and the distant and exotic lands of the Mediterranean West.

We might have remained in almost complete ignorance of the part played by the Pudukkottai region in the fields of culture and trade, if inscriptions had not survived to tell us of famous trade-guilds with high-sounding titles, such as 'The Five Hundred of the Thousand Districts in the Four Quarters', or 'The Eighteen towns', that traded 'with the Six continents'. It is not therefore mere chance which made Nāttukkottai Chettiyars, the genuine inheritors of the Middle Age 'Nagarattars', build their palatial residences in well-laid out towns in this area.[1]

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[1] K. R. Venkatarama Ayyar, *A Manual of the Pudukkottai State*, pp. 650 sqq. and 675; on Merchant-Guilds see also K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *A History of South India*, Vol. I, 1955, pp. 158, 318 and 319; *Studies in Cola History and Administration*, 1932, passim.

But it was the spade which brought to light, in 1898, at Karukkakurichi, a village of the Kurinji region, typical evidence in the form of a hoard of Roman coins. Such finds are not uncommon on the site of ancient cities in Tamil Nād, but the considerable amount of gold coins found here gives it special significance. As many as 501 pieces bearing the effigies of ten successive Roman Emperors, from Augustus (29 B.C. to 14 A.D.) to Vespasian (69 to 79 A.D.) were unearthed here.[2]

Whether the actual donors of grants to Brahmanical institutions under the Colas and the Pandyas were princes or merchants, it is certain that Brahmanical Hinduism, even when it received royal recognition and patronage, did not succeed in stamping out ancient forms and values. The Dravidian 'Mother' kept her shrines by the side of the Brahmanized male deity and women had not yet lost their honoured place in society. Local princesses are frequently quoted in inscriptions as the main benefactresses. Intermarriage took place between chieftains, which continued right up to our own days e.g., between the royal houses of Pudukkottai, Sivaganga and Ramnad. Famous dancing girls are frequently referred to in inscriptions ; Brahmanical Hinduism, which had declared married women impure for sacrificial purposes, nevertheless allowed dancing girls almost the same rights as men and kept them in the service of its altars.

Such fine structures as the three masterpieces in stone called the *Mūvar Kovils*, at Kodumbalur, were the work of a local chieftain Bhuti Vikramasekari and of his two wives, Karralipirattiyal and Varugana.[3] Kongavanam of the Kodumbalur Irukku Vels conceived the daring project of bringing the water of the Cauvery to his capital in the northern-western portion of Pudukkottai just below Manaparai. He is reported to have actually begun digging a

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[2] S. Radha Krishna Aiyar, *A General History of the Pudukkotah State*, 1916, p. 51.

[3] Id., *ibid.*, Appendix iv.

canal.[4] But thanks to the Muslim invasion of the 14th century this capital city, which at one time boasted of as many as a hundred and eight shrines to the Lingam, is now a heap of ruins. The temples that have survived and the basements and sculptures still to be found amongst the ruins show what an important cultural and religious centre Kodumbalur must have been.

Deep mounds of earth, formed by the crumbled mud-houses, have considerably raised the level of the ground round the surviving temples, like a heavy shroud over a dead past. Thus have persisted the two Nagarams or Merchant-Guilds, which had for centuries enjoyed commercial and religious importance. And this story of woes repeats itself in many other once beautiful cities, of which ruined shrines in the invading wilderness are all that remains. Such is, among others, Madattu Kōvil, about halfway between Kiranur and Viralimalai, a beauty in stone of the purest Vijayanagar style ; there is not even a hamlet there now. Such is again Narttamalai with its twelve surviving temples and its many rock-caves round an almost depopulated village.

To the early Cola period, which marks the transition from the Pallava style, are to be ascribed a group of small but finely chiselled shrines, all in stone, at Kaliyappatti, Tiruppur, Visalur, Pannangudi, Tirukkattalai, Kannakudi, Narttamalai, Viralur and Enadi. Up to the middle of the 11th century new temples, including two Jain shrines, were still being built and ancient ones enlarged or remodelled in about thirty different places. From the middle eleventh century to the decline of the Great Colas in the 13th century, thirty more places show new structures and a significant feature is that shrines to the 'Mother' are built within the precincts of temples dedicated to the Lingam ;

[4] On the Irukkuvels of Kodumbalur see the learned study of M. Arokiaswami M.A., Ph.D., *Velar Basin ;* also *Tamil Culture,* Vol. IV, No. 2, pp. 176 sqq.

the village people also went on erecting shrines of their own, apart from the official ones.

Each new structure meant more grants for the erection and the maintenance of its priests, servants, musicians, dancing girls, as well as for the performance of the daily *Puja*. The management of these temples and their revenues by the 'Ur' or village community, sometimes jointly with the Brahmin 'Sabha' and the 'Nagaram' Merchant-Guild, gives one the impression that, in spite of heavy taxation and forced contributions towards the maintenance of this official form of worship, we are dealing with a contented peasantry.

It was too good to last. The time would arrive when Merchant-Guilds would have to hand over to the village Community their part in the management of temple affairs, and the villagers would show themselves less and less ready to settle their tithes for the worship of the gods and the maintenance of their servants. The secular power would have to intervene. Looking over the Narttamalai vale from one of the several hills that surround it, one cannot help becoming pensive. This too peaceful and intimate coomb with its now dry tanks and barren fields is a picture of desolation. But the many shrines and temples that mark every prominent spot in the depopulated village or on the slope of the hills, the caves and natural caverns and Mutts, Jain or Brahmanic, its Merchant-Guilds which have not been heard of since the 14th century, had all contributed to make the vale and the hills once hum with prayer and trade.

There are still a few Brahmins left, survivals from a forgotten age ; this may be the reason why they are men of simple taste and gentle disposition, men of few words too, whose subdued manner of speech is that of men given to inner thoughts. Discretion, a sense of the artistic, politeness without affectation, soft speech in melodious Tamil, which has none of the hardness and gutturality of

other places, are also typical features of the ordinary village people. It would seem that centuries of religious and cultural attainments have left their deep imprint upon the souls of all.

The religious structures here may not have attained the large proportions of the more important temples elsewhere. Lack of size is more than made up by the artistic dexterity which the local craftsmen brought to bear on their work and the refinement of the finished article. We are not dealing here with mass-production but with works of real art, and executed by artisans who, inspired by devotional fervour, treated them as a labour of love. The stonecutters, carvers and sculptors, who worked here may not all have been artists as famous as their contemporaries elsewhere who enjoyed the patronage of kings and the rich but trained in highly-patronized schools their works, if simpler, show purer lines and a more delicate touch. The dancers their chisels carved—whether it was a Nataraja or a dancing girl, a complete sculpture or a mere carving upon a pillar, whether the artist was given the opportunity to display his full skill and produce his best or was left only with the drudgery of a mere sketch in stone—have here more elegance in their poise and more artistic and delicate touch in the rendering of bodily forms than will be found elsewhere, or in later periods.

The size of these earlier sculptures may be much smaller than those of the Madura Naick school (of which there are to be found here many examples) and were all inspired by religion, unlike the masterpieces from Naick times with their larger than human size statues, which are often highly sensuous, if not obscene. Early feminine forms, even when in the nude, are never immodest or alluring, and their rhythmic poise is more natural and more enchanting, too, because of the very absence of self-consciousness and self-conceit on the part of the Pudukkottai artist.

Religion and discretion seem to have been the prevailing keynote, the inspiring motive under the still prevailing influence of the cult of the 'Mother'—the 'Benign Mother', as opposed to the fierce Kali of later days. The softness inculcated by the deeply humanized Jain monks had not yet been forgotten, and the 'Mother' from Dravidian days had not yet degenerated into the Brahmanized 'wife' or at her best the 'consort' of the male deity. She is still the 'Maid', unwedded and unattached, the ever-*Kaniya* and *Kumari*, the traditional 'Mangai', 'Māligai', 'Mathandai' and 'Bālamma'.

Siva himself, whether in the Dakshinamurthi or the Nataraja form, is still the *Ishta Devata* that inspired the devotion of the early Saiva Hymnists. Here we find Dravidian art at its best. The statuary of the Saiva and Vaishnava rock-cut caves at Malaiyadipatti stands in a class apart both by its majesty and its refinement. In both these twin-caves large scenes have been chiselled out of the living rock with figures as large as life itself, if not larger, as in the case of the reclining Vishnu. The artist responsible for this particular masterpiece knew how to handle a chisel and a hammer. The imposing head of the sleeping Vishnu over-shadowed by the five-hooded Naga is by itself a study of strength in repose, softened down by a lingering smile upon the lips of the dormant deity.

In a class apart, too, stands the ruined temple of Madattu Kovil, a fine example of Vijayanagar style. In the implacable bright sun, it shines even today in all the splendour of stones that have just come out of the hands of carvers; upon each pillar or cornice can be seen miniature masterpieces which are still a treat to the eye. The smiling Seven Virgins carved out of a single stone which lies abandoned among the ruins makes one regret that so much beauty should lie uncared for in a deserted place, with hardly any discriminating visitor to appreciate and enjoy.

THE NAICK PERIOD

During the all too short interval between the decline of the Great Colas and the onslaught of the Muslims, the Pandyas made a few repairs and improvements, here and there, and added a few more shrines to the 'Mother' at Kudumiyamalai, Narttamalai, Puvalaikkudi etc. The Muslim drive into the Southern Tamil districts, which lasted a few decades during the 14th century resulted in troubled times, bringing back a renewal of the feudal system; it weakened such institutions as the Merchant Guilds and the Village Communities. In the absence of a stable government which can ensure peace, agriculture and commerce as well as culture and religion suffered. Under the titles of *Araiyars, Arasus* or *Nadalvars*, local chieftains succeeded like the Velirs of ancient Tamil poetry, in raising themselves from the position of clan or village headmen to that of potential rulers over part of the country or *Nād*. They founded new dynasties and fought one another, plundering their neighbours under the pretext of protecting their own peasantry. Recurring famine and epidemics completed the tale of woe in 1436, 1450 and 1451.[5] Those who survived had to migrate in search of a living. Villages became depopulated, and many towns lost for ever their importance, some of them surviving as mere hamlets today. With the abandonment of religious festivals which had for centuries attracted pilgrims and favoured trade, the Merchant Guilds died out. The Brahmins lost their benefices, and they too, left. The temples were uncared for.

When the Madura Naicks restored order and peace, they had to recruit Brahmins from their own Andhra Desa. But not a few among them showed more willingness for secular occupations than for the mere reciting of *mantras*. We find them in the service of the ruling princes at the various courts of the Pudukkottai Rayars and Tondamans,

[5] Radha Krishna, pp. 80 sqq, 110 and 111.

as well as in the service of the Madura overlords and their Southern Barons, the famous Poligars, as counsellors, ministers and even generals of armies on the battlefield.

With the loss of its rich patrons drawn from the merchant class, another institution, that of the Dancing Girls, became so impoverished that its members were driven to accepting service under temples. Gone were the days when Umaiyalvi Natchiyar, more commonly known as Periya Natchiyar, the daughter of another famous dancer at Kudimiyamalai, could not only offer the high sum of 73,000 gold coins for a temple land, but also add one more shrine to the Mother within the great temple precincts under the title of Malaiya Mangai or Soundara Nayagi. Was our Natchiyar by any chance a great-grand-daughter of the temple priest's sweet-heart of the legend, to whom the priest had the temerity to present the very garland of flowers destined for the deity ?

If Brahminism knew a renewal in the Pudukkottai country, as it did in the rest of the Southern districts, no new temples were built. New structures were simply added to the ancient ones, large sculptures, vast corridors and mandapams ; but the size and, at times, exaggerated realism of sculptural forms do not make up for the absence of religious inspiration. The sculptures of this period show unquestionable skill and power of expression, but they are the products of secular masters of the chisel and not of artists inspired by religion.

The quarrels and wars which followed the death of the last Madura Naick, in 1731, led to foreign invasion. Tamil Nad became the playfield of adventurers, both Indian and European, Chanda Sahib, the Mahrattas, the Nabob of Arcot, the Nizam of Hyderabad, Hyder Ali and his son Tippu Sultan, the English from Madras and the French from Pondicherry. These troubled days brought about a decline in the ascendency of Brahmanical Hinduism.

The Dravidian cult had not to come back into its own, as it had always been there since prehistoric days as the cult of the Mother, that of her companion Murugan-Siva-Aiyanar-Karuppan, the worship of ancestors and the rites of fertility. Though both deities and cults had been incorporated in Brahmanical temples, the people had gone on erecting altars of their own. Ancient cults die hard.

II. Village Religion

The 'Mother' and the 'Aiyanar'.

The Pudukkottai region provides typical examples of the survival of the sacred places, even when the religion itself has changed. Here as elsewhere in Tamil Nad, Brahmanical Hinduism has perpetuated the ancient altars by building its own shrines over the tombs of primitive Dravidian worthies. It has perpetuated, too, the cult of ancestor worship by adding it to its pantheon. The ancestral cult, far from declining under the pressure of Aryan concepts, cults and institutions, reacted by stamping its own mark deeply upon the new religions. So much so that it is well-nigh impossible to disentangle what is their own from what they have borrowed from the Dravidian cult.[6]

Our knowledge of Pudukkottai's past begins, as we have seen, with the dolmens and other burial forms found near tanks and water-courses. One would overlook the coincidence that the rocks and the hills in which the Jain monks settled, later on, are fertility elements in themselves, if the paintings of Sittannavasal were not here to show what part fertility elements played in the Jain tenets and symbols.

It is not fortuitous either that the Pallava shrines and the early Cola temples, as well as some others of later

[6] See the scholarly work of N. V. Ramanayya, *Origin of South Indian Temples*, 1930.

periods, had no other symbol or object or worship than the Lingam with, or without, its Yoni pedestal. Scholars continue to discuss whether or not the Lingam in its most ancient forms in India was meant to represent a phallic symbol, as if it did matter much either way. A rock or stone, the more so a 'particular' stone that has been 'found', that is, one that has not actually been chosen but has revealed itself as 'sacred' because of its *hierophanic* quality, is as much a symbol of fertility and giver of life, a *lithic kratophany*.[7] Such are the so-called *suyambu*, or self-made. Lingams venerated in most ancient temples.

The primitive Lingams found in many shrines of Pudukkottai are perhaps of laterite but one cannot be certain as generations of Pujaris have, by anointing them with ghee and adorning them with sandal and vermilion, blackened them out of shape and recognition.

In the absence of natural springs in such a dry country as Pudukkottai, water itself became precious and sacred. On the slopes of the rockhills in which the Jains established their hermitages and the Saivites their shrines, water, in the shape of the smallest tarn, even a mere pool of rain-water gathered in a socket of the rock, becomes a 'mountain-lake', or a 'perennial spring'. The lotus that breeds in such pools, and much more still the 'immersed Lingams', that have been lowered into them for perennial bath in such hallowed waters, have acquired great sanctity.

A fertility concept again is contained in the legend of the Tiru Gokarnam temple in the Pudukkottai town, according to which the tutelar goddess of the Tondamans, the 'Celestial Cow Kamadenu', brings water daily from the Ganges to bathe the temple Lingam. The tarn upon the near-by hillock is said to have been cut out of the rock with her horn for the purpose of storing the sacred water. Has not this legend also inspired the common motif, so

[7] Eliade, pp. 191 *seq.*, and Leeuw, pp. 41 *seq.*

often carved in stone, of the sacred cow giving her teats to the Lingam as she would to her own calf, as also of the many representations of the 'Mother' with a cow's head and a woman's body ?

It is perhaps this same concept which inspired the people at Kudumiyamalai to place as a water-spout to their tank of rain-water a stone slab with a cow carved upon it. Do not the villagers of Ammanchattram in Narttamalai call their village tanks *Pal Urani* and *Karkandu Urani* (milk and sugar candy ponds) ? These two tanks provided drinking water to the Jain Monks who once dwelt in the eight natural caves at the summit of the rock-hill, and to the early men who had occupied them long before Jainism came south, the prehistoric men who buried their dead near the sacred waters of the tanks ? Such sacred places are so rich in past memories, so full of what the Romans call the *numen,* that people have ever been unconsciously attracted to them. One of the many heaps of stones that have rolled down from the rockhill mark the spot where a Sakkilici lost her life in such tragic and romantic circumstances that she was ranked among the *Paṭṭavals* or deified Mothers. It is no wonder, therefore, that the royal family of the Kolattur Tondamans chose to bury there their queens. Life and death are intimately connected, for in spite of death life endures.

If we were somewhat shocked to meet on the Melamalai, in this same hallowed range of Narttamalai, the tomb of a Muslim saint in the neighbourhood of Jain, early Saiva and Aiyanar shrines, it was not because of the presence of one more religious form, but because of the very incongruity of its modernity. As if to make up for this invasion of profane secularity among so much grandeur and so much sacredness, further on in the same hill, amidst a dense grove of trees is found a rustic open-air shrine to the Aiyanar. He dwells there in the company of the Mother and that of the Seven Virgins, his sisters, represented on small clay-tablets. In their long robes that

seem to have come out of a nursery book of fairy stories, they look charmingly like so many sleeping beauties. In this primeval shrine reminiscent of a Roman *Lucus*, one almost feels a pervading 'presence', for here are enshrined the simple faith and hope of agriculturist clans who for many centuries have been attracted by it.

The shrines to the Aiyanar that stand usually in the open, *sub diu* are commonly fenced with broken granite slabs which must have come from the nearest burial site, as also the small altars of that primitive faith, dolmen-like in shape. Villagers still erect small dolmens in front of their houses to serve as domestic altars. They are often used as henscoops for the poultry at night; both the profane and the sacred are usually rather mixed up, as are so many other South Indian symbols. But even if such miniature dolmens may not always serve their higher purpose, it is never lost sight of; upon such altars people do occasionally make vows and take their most binding oaths.

There is hardly any village without a shrine, not only to the Mother, but to the Aiyanar, and most villages in the Pudukkottai have several. One cannot mistake a shrine to the Aiyanar or to his double, Karuppanaswami; the many pottery horses, large and small, half of them in a state of crumbling, indicate these shrines. The traveller may falsely conclude that here is a dying, if not altogether dead, religion; the presence of so much pottery debris arises out of the great veneration in which whatever pertains to the Aiyanar is held. According to tradition, which is true of all ancient cults, nothing may be touched, and far less removed, which belongs to the sacred. The shrine to the Aiyanar may be renovated by the addition of some more clay horses or some more clay statues. Enormous horses or elephants in brick and lime—we have seen fine examples in stone too—may be erected, but all clay debris are carefully preserved as sacred relics.

In all shrines to the Aiyanar we met in our journeys through the Pudukkottai country, and we met a good many indeed in our wanderings from place to place, we found *traces of recent worship, flowers that were just fading* away and sacrificial hearths with their still fresh ashes. Here the puja and the common festive repast for a family, a clan or a village, had been recently prepared and shared.

By his shrines, as well as by the cult with which he is associated, the Aiyanar summarizes the inheritance from an ancestral past intimately connected with the cult of the Mother. Today he is still, indeed, the Mother's companion but her son—not her husband, Siva having usurped this role. Under his many names and titles as well as under his multifarious forms, the Aiyanar has remained an agricultural deity, inheriting or simply taking upon himself the Mother's concepts. Forms, titles and names may vary from village to village, and from one shrine to another even in the same village. Even so, we can trace him back to the days of ancient Tamil poetry when he was known as Murugan, the 'fragrant son of Kottavai', the victorious Mother. His shrines have mostly remained what they must have been in that forgotten past, open-air shrines, though there are temples in dressed stones dedicated to him in Pudukottah which go back to the beginning of the XVIIth or earlier century. Such is the one built by the Vallambars at Mangudi. Those 'Vallam Totta Vellalas', or *heretics* from Vallam in Tanjore, came and settled here, according to their Purana, rather than abandon their ancestral worship. They have so faithfully adhered to their Dravidian faith that they still call Saiva and Vaishnava forms of worship 'Devil-Dance', *Pēy-āṭṭam*; this latter term is perhaps equivalent to what we call heathen-worship, that is the dreaded rival faith. Devil-worship is as objectionable to the Tamil villager, at least in ordinary circumstances, as it is to the Christian missionary, though with a difference.

The importance of the Aiyanar did not escape the ever-awake Brahmins. He was given the Sanskrit name of *Sāstha* (Sāttan in Tamil, which has nothing in common with its Christian namesake). Sattan stands for a dignified master, and for God too, that is the One who governs, chastises and warns. The name has survived in *Sāttam-pillai* or the village master of pial schools. Having taken from the Mother her fertility rites, he is the object of the faith and veneration of young girls craving for a husband, and of the newly-wed, eager to be favoured with the gift of a child. Like those of the Mother, his shrines receive offerings of bangles, of plaited small sheaves of new rice, and bits of rags that may be found hanging from a *Pala* tree, of which the very name is suggestive of a 'babe'. The rags stand there as a symbol of swaddling clothes, and bespeak of newly-realized motherhood.

These attributes of fertility are symbolized under a variety of forms—Siva coming out of the Lingam, a Lingam with an entwining Naga, or the image of a boar ; the common fish relief ; the many Naga-stones placed upon raised platforms under a margosa-tree ; the presence of dancing scenes, or of 'temptation' tableaux, crudely suggestive, on the brick and lime structures of Aiyanar's horses or elephants. Apsaras or Yakshinis (Celestial Damsels, cloud-maidens, or 'Fertility Spirits') are traditional symbols in Indian religious art, but in some temples of the Madura Naick period, such symbolism is no longer mere 'provocative suggestiveness' or 'allegory' as in the Buddhists monuments of the Sanchi and Mathura schools, but, as Karl Khandalavala remarks referring to the similar scenes in the temple of the Sun at Konorak, 'the limit of sensuousness permissible in sound aesthetics'.[8] While in the temple of Minakshi at Madura, for instance, the temptation scene shows both art and restraint, the two larger than life size groups, which face one another in the hall of the

[8] Khandalavala, p. 33.

Kudimiyamalai temple are rather crude and frankly obscene in their realism. It may be art, but it is no longer religion ; it is also perhaps anti-clerical, representing as it does ascetics in their most unbridled lusty moods.

The Aiyanar is represented as single, as he should, with a youthful, almost childish, countenance inherited from Murugan as *Bālan* or *Kulandai* ; but he is also found like the grown-up Murugan in Brahmanical Hinduism, with two wives, Puranai and Pushkalai, or like the Tamil 'Pillaiyar' who, under the form of 'Kulandai Nayakkar' or young Ganesan, is shown at Kovilur with two shy young brides. In some places the Aiyanar is represented as *Pavadai Rayan*, the Princeling in petticoat, the typical Mother's child.

We ought not to be perplexed with these Protean forms of the Aiyanar, even if they involve a change, admixture or a confusion of sexes both in Brahmanical Hinduism and in the village cults. The male deity is, after all, but the double or the shadow of the Mother, as Siva himself is in his Ardhanari or hermaphrodite form. Does he not, at the Rock-temple in Tiruchirapalli, become *Tāyumānavar*, or the 'One who took also the functions of the Mother'? Do not the priests as well as the male worshippers of the Aiyanar, come in many places in female attire? The Mother-complex is so deeply engrained in the religion of the people that boys and men seem never to outgrow completely this early stage of childhood that made them one with their mother. One remains not only one's mother's child but as little dissimilar from her as nature allows.

But if the Aiyanar is at times independent of the Mother by inspiring a worship quite his own, he cannot easily cut off all relationship with the one that has given him his existence. The shrine to the Mother is never far-away from his, even if it is a mere mud hut with a thatched

roof and there will be also found another shrine, or at least the images, of the Seven Virgins, his sisters. These kind and indulgent Virgin-Mothers look like so many benevolent spinster-aunts, but maids who, like the Mother herself, participate in her maternity and care for the welfare and well-being of the village people. Thus does Dravidian religion duplicate and multiply its concepts and forms.

(To be concluded)

The Law of Thesawalamai

H. W. TAMBIAH.

The Origins of Thesawalamai

Thesawalamai தேசவழமை literally meaning the "Customs of the country" has governed and still governs the destinies of nearly an eight hundred thousand Tamils in Ceylon. A critical analysis of some of its fundamental concepts supports the contention that there have been two waves of immigration, one from the west coast of India, which brought a people whose pattern of society was matrilineal, and whose customs were akin to the Marumakatthayam law and laws of the Mukkuwas of Ceylon, and another from the Coramandal coast which brought a band of people whose family organisation is based on the patrilineal pattern similar to the Tamils of Tirunelveli, Pondicherry, the Colombo Chettiars and the Vellalas of Puttalam.

The Thesawalamai and the Marumakatthayam Law

The customary law of usages of the Malabar is the Marumakatthayam law, a system of law based on the matrilineal system of society, the principles of which are akin to the Aliyasanthana Law prevailing among the Canarese in India and the Mukkuwa Law of the Mukkuwas of Ceylon. Mayne in his monumental work on *Hindu Law* speaks of the "remarkable similarity" of the Malabar Marumakatthayam Law to the usages of the north of Ceylon as stated in the Thesawalamai.[1] As stated earlier further research on this subject reveals the fact that the Thesawalamai is a blend of the customary laws of the first

[1] See Mayne, *Hindu Law*, 7th Edition, page 3.

settlers who perhaps had a system of law which was very much akin to the Marumakatthayam law and the customary laws of the later colonists having their roots in a system of law prevailing among a patrilineal society. In order to appreciate these remarks it is necessary to explain some of the fundamental differences between the systems of customary law among a matrilineal society and a patrilineal family.

In a matrilineal society, the family unit consisted of all the descendants of the female line of one common female ancestor. Thus, the 'tarwad' of the Marumakatthayam and the 'kudi' of the Mukkuwa Law consisted of all the descendants of the female line of one common female ancestor. In such a pattern of society relationship could only be claimed through the female. The husband had no power over the ancestral lands. The manager of the family is usually the mother's brother but his ancestral property devolved not on his children but on his sister. The senior male in the family whether in the 'tarwad' or the 'kudi' became the head and manager of the family property. In Marumakatthayam Law he was known as the 'Karnavan'. Under the Aliyasanthana Law he is known as "Ejaman". The manager of the family unit looked after the ancestral property for the benefit of the members of the family and on his death his ancestral property did not devolve on his children but on his sisters, his undoubted relations.

In Malabar a custom arose which enabled the manager of the 'tarwad' to establish his own daughters in life providing dowries out of his acquired property. Each one of his daughters who has been so endowed started a separate family known as the 'tāivalillam' தாய்வழிஇல்லம் which, although it started an independent existence, was regarded as a branch of the 'tarwad' which has separated more or less from the parent's stock.[2] The institution set

[2] See Lewis Moore, *Malabar Law and Customs* (3rd Edition) p. 424.

out above has its counterpart in Mukkuwas Laws.[3] These principles peculiar to a matrilineal society are the outcome of a system of society where the eldest female was regarded as supreme in family circles, the marriage unions being not permanent, the male having a precarious existence. The members of the family looked upon the mother of the family as the undoubted relation through whom all descent could be claimed. The mother's brother has an important place in the family. Endowed with superior physical prowess, he looked after the property of his sister. Dr. Ehrenfels in his work on '*Mother Right in India*' has traced many matrilineal systems of society in India and Ceylon.

In a patrilineal system of society the eldest male was the manager of the family property, the females who were married out had no claims to the ancestral property of the family. The male members of the family had joint interest in the family property which only became separate on a partition. Mayne has shown that such customary usages exist in South India.

Alexander Johnstone in his despatches has collected many customary usages of the Tamils of Ceylon which are based on the patrilineal pattern. For example, the customary usages of the Colombo Chettiars and the Vellalas of the Puttalam District.[4] With indefatigable energy Le Sorge had collected the customary laws of the Pondicherry Tamils.[5] In Indian and Ceylon customary laws both patrilineal and matrilineal systems of society can be found. Referring to Indian customary law Ganapathi Iyer (after referring to the Dravidian usages) says[6] Mayne, expressed the same idea when he said[7] "I think it impossible to imagine that any body of usage could have obtained gene-

[3] See Britto, *Mukkuwa Law*, p. 571.
[4] H. W. Tambiah, *Laws and Customs of the Tamils.*
[5] *Pondicherry decisions*, by Le Sorge.
[6] *Hindu Law* by Ganapathy Iyer, p. 36.
[7] Mayne (9th Edition).

ral acceptance throughout India merely because it was included by Brahman writers or even because it was held by the Aryan tribes. In Southern India, at all events, it seems clear that neither Aryans or Brahmans ever settled in sufficient numbers to produce any such result." In support of his statement he takes three distinctive features of the Hindu Law, viz., the undivided family system, the law of inheritance and the practice of adoption, and shows how the early history of these branches of the law and their main features had nothing to do with Brahmanism.

Dr. Derrett, after referring to the *Dharmasastras*, says[8] "it is one of India's chief heirlooms. But its historical development is still a matter largely of conjecture since the date of the 'mula' viz., the 'sutras' of Gautama, Apastamba and others, is far from being settled. Conjectures and cross conjectures are many, and ingenious arguments erect a structure of relative priority or even absolute *termini ante quos* and *termini post quos* which seem to be based upon insubstantial arguments.

Probability is not however helpful, and after the work of Buhler, Jolly, Kane, Varadachariar, Rangaswami Aiyangar and Naresh Chandra Sen Gupta, a certain residium of knowledge may be said to exist, which can safely be applied for our present purpose. The presence of a rule in a later source does not, of course, lead us to believe that it did not exist for a very long period before that time; nor is the absence of a rule in the earliest texts an indication necessarily that the rule was not perfectly well known, for the method of construction of the 'smrtis' did not require that every aspect of law should be dealt with, but only those aspects which might either be doubtful points of religious or moral law or be substantial difficulties in actual litigation. Topics which did not fall within these categories were thus omitted. Similarly in the

[8] *Origin of the Laws of the Kandyans* by J. D. M. Derrett in the University of Ceylon Review, Vol. 14, p. 108.

course of their commentaries the jurists of the classical period and of later periods who sought to mitigate or to improve upon their great masters, seldom adverted to matters which were perfectly well known to the populace unless they were necessary for the explanation of a passage in the text, and that only where a number of different interpretations could be placed upon the text so as to render a choice inevitable".

Thus the existence of Indian customary law prior to the *Dharmasastras* and which practically influenced the latter has been recognised by scholars. Mayne has also shown that these Dravidian usages were not based on law but on the contrary many basic principles of Hindu Law as expounded in the *Dharmasastras* are based on these Dravidian usages. It is best to cite the words of Mayne on this matter.[9] "On the other hand, while I think that Brahmanical Law had been principally founded on non-Brahmanical customs, so I have little doubt that those customs have largely modified and supplemented by that law". The study of these customary laws not only will be useful in constructing obscure passages in the *Dharmasastras* but also to fill in the gaps in 'smirthi law' for a better appreciation of the Hindu law as a whole.[10]

The origin of Thesawalamai could be traced to the admixture of Indian Customary Law brought by the two waves of settlers referred to earlier who made the Jaffna Peninsula their home. When the contents of Thesawalamai are developed, an attempt will be made to show the co-existence of rules peculiar to both matrilineal and patrilineal systems of society. The rules of patriliny, although it has an independent origin from the *Dharmasastra,* received its blessings, but still did not succeed in ousting the rules of matriliny. As the late Mr. V. Coomara-

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[9] Mayne's *Hindu Law,* 7th Edition, p. 11.

[10] See Dr. Derrett's Article in the *Ceylon University Review,* Vol. 14, p. 109.

swamy has shown in a series of learned articles[11] the two bands of colonists made co-existence possible by the adoption of the rules applicable to both matrilineal and patrilineal systems of society.

Influences of Foreign systems of law on Thesawalamai.

When different systems of law come in contact with any particular customary law, they leave their imprint. The Thesawalamai was no exception. The German Historical School said that Law is essentially the product of natural forces associated with the *geist* of each particular people, and nothing is more representative of these evolutionary forces than the customs which are found to exist in each community, and which are indigenous as its flora and fauna. Recent researches have shown that this contention put forward by the German Historical School who apparently try to create a feeling of pseudo-nationalism is without any foundation. Dr. Allen states,[12] "Law is seldom pure blooded and national is a dangerous word to use of almost any legal institution". It is well-known phenomena that customary laws change when they come in contact with foreign systems of law. The Thesawalamai has been modified from time to time as a result of the impact of Hindu Law, the Roman Dutch Law and even principles of English Law.

INFLUENCES OF HINDU LAW

The influence of Hindu Law as enunciated by the *Dharmasastras* has been very little in Thesawalamai. Sir Alexander Johnstone in his report to His Majesty's Government, referred to the Law of Thesawalamai and said as follows: "The Tamils—some of whom are Christians but most of them are worshippers of Vishnu or Siva—(independently of *Dharma Shastra*, the source of all Hindu Law, the Viguyan Ishuar, a law tract of great authority in the south of India and Videyanugger's Commentary on the

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11 See *Genesis and Development of Thesawalamai* by V. Coomaraswamy, *Hindu Organ*, dated 19-6-33, 6-7-33, and 27-10-33.

12 *Law in the Making*, 2nd Edition, p. 51.

text of Parasara, a work of equal authority in the Mysore country) have a customary code of their own called Thesavalamai which, though it provides for many castes, leaves others to be decided according to the general principles of Hindu Law, as evidenced in the work to which I have just alluded.[13]

When the Portuguese, Dutch and English held sway over the Jaffna peninsula many leading caste Hindus became Christians (see Cleghorn's *Minutes*). Hence it is not surprising that the Hindu Law treatises supplemented the meagre provisions of the Thesawalamai. Thus, during the early British period it was found that *Dharmasastras* were used to supplement Thesawalamai.

To one unacquainted with Indian Customary Law, the Thesawalamai will appear in Tennyson's words as:—

"The lawless science of the law
That codeless myriad precedent
That wilderness of single instances
Through which a few, by wit or fortune led
May beat the pathway out of wealth and fame"

But to those who have traced Thesavalamai to its original roots it appears as a coherent system of law.

We shall estimate the influence of the law of *Dharmasastras* when we deal with the contents of Thesawalamai. At this juncture it is sufficient to state that a few principles are set out by the institutional writers on Hindu Law and Brahmanical practices have crept in supplanting the ancient usages of the Tamils.

Although it is generally believed that the law of Pre-emption was brought in by the Mohamedans who settled down in the Southern parts of India, it is submitted with respect that the Tamil customary laws had recognised pre-emption long before the Mogul invasion of Southern India. It was known to be Marumakatthayam Law.

[13] *Katresan's Handbook on Thesawalamai*, pp. 1-4.

Following the decision of the Privy Council in an Indian case[14] the view has been expressed by some writers that pre-emption as known to Thesawalamai was brought in by the Muslim settlers of Jaffna (see Balsingam's *Laws of Ceylon*, VII, 1). The collection of Mohamedan usages codified by the Dutch and later by British (as found in the Mohamedan Code of 1806) do not mention the law of pre-emption. If pre-emption was known to the Muslim settlers of Ceylon, these collections would have contained some references to it. It is more probable that the law of pre-emption was brought by the first band of settlers from the Western coast of India who brought with them Marumakatthayam usages in its pristine purity.

Changes in the Thesawalamai during the Portugese and Dutch Regime.

The Portuguese appear to have effected many changes in the law of Thesawalamai. This is clear from a passage in the Thesawalamai Code which reads as follows.[15] "But in process of time, and in consequence of several changes in Government, particularly those in the times of the Portugese when the Government was placed by the order of the King of Portugese in the hands of Don Philip Mascearenha several alterations were gradually made in the customs and usages according to the testimonials of the Modeliars. Thus, during the Portugese time the rule was adopted that dowry can be given out of Mudusam (ancestral property) although under the original customary law dowry could not be given out of the ancestral property of the husband. The Dutch have brought several changes in the law of Thesawalamai by express legislation.

The Preamble to the 76 orders states that these Orders were necessary to settle many points in dispute in matters affecting sales, Otti mortgages, money, hoarding, marriages, dowries etc. Space does not permit to point in detail the

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[14] 13, *Allahabad Law Journal*, p. 236.
[15] Tes code Para 1

far-reaching changes affected by these orders.[15a] As justification for the introduction of these orders the preamble states that these orders were framed in accordance with the customs of the Tamils. Despite this statement the Thesawalamai has been considerably changed by these orders. In this connection it is interesting to note that during the Dutch period that almost all the Tamils of Jaffna were forced to be Christians. This is evident from the writings of Baldeus. The Thesawalamai Code was mainly intended to apply to Christians with certain concessions to non-Christians. This is apparent from a perusal of paragraphs 1, 17, 18 of the Thesawalamai Code which gave certain rights to non-Christians who came over to Jaffna from India and married persons governed by Thesawalamai. These were not given equal rights as those governed by the Thesawalamai.

The Thesawalamai Code states that the Dutch legislated with the view of preventing parents from disposing of their property by sale or mortgage for the benefit of their married daughters or their children and to the detriment of their sons. The Dutch also laid down new rules pertaining to the giving of notice to persons who are entitled to the right of pre-emption. The Code says "Yet this mode of selling lands underwent an alteration afterwards in consequence of the good orders given on the subject given in the time of the old Commander Bloom (of blessed memory) as since those orders no sale of lands whatever has taken place until the intentions of such a sale have been published."

THE INFLUENCE OF DUTCH LAW

The Dutch Courts administered the Thesawalamai not only to the Tamils in the Jaffna Peninsula but also on the recommendation of Lt. Nagel to all the Tamils who were in

[15a] For a fuller discussion on the 76 orders see Muthukrishna on *Thesawalamai.*

the Wanni District. If the Thesawalamai was silent on any matter they applied the Dutch Law. Thus Pavilojeon, Commander of Jaffna Patnam (1665) ......in his instructions stated "The natives are governed according to the customs of the country, if these are clear and reasonable, otherwise according to our laws" It is interesting to investigate what Pavilojeon meant by the terms 'our laws'. The Dutch applied what are known as the Statutes of Batavia which was a collection of all the statutes passed by the Governor-General in Batavia, to their colonies in the East. According to Dr. Bissehep these statutes of Batavia by modifying and enlarging the jurisprudence of Holland sought to reconcile the Roman Dutch Law "with the spirit and temper of the natives". On the orders of Vandieman, Mr. Maetsuyekar collected these statutes under the designation of Old Statutes of Batavia. About a hundred years later, the Governor Vander Par instructed Jackraestein to make another collection known as the New Statute of Batavia. There is clear evidence that both the Old and New Statutes of Batavia were applied in Ceylon.[16] There is a residuary provision in the Statutes that in the case of "casus omisus", the Roman Dutch Law should be applied. The Roman Dutch Law is an admixture of the Roman Law and the Germanic customs and were developed by medieval writers of eminence such as Grotius, Voet, Bynkershock, Van Leeuwan, Vander Lindan and others who flourished from the middle of the 15th upto the end of the 17th century. This system of law is the residuary law of Ceylon even in modern times, and applies to all persons in the absence of customary laws and statute law or case law.[17]

The British following the rule in Compbell *vs.* Hall[18] adopted the policy of governing the people of Ceylon by their laws and customs. They set out their policy in the

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[16] See *Roman Dutch Law in Ceylon*, by H. W. Tambiah, *Law Students Magazine* (1951).
[17] See Introduction to Roman-Dutch Law by R. W. Lee (*5th Edition*).
[18] 1744 Com. p. 244.

proclamation of 1799 by stating that they will govern the people according to the law. Although the statutes of Batavia were applied by the early English Judges in deciding civil matters they adopted the Roman Dutch Law of the institutional writers by a selective process. Some rules of Roman Dutch Law are found in the Thesawalamai Code prepared by the Dutch. After it was codified, the Roman Dutch Law had considerable influence in developing it during the British regime. Dalton J., in the case of Iya Mattayer *vs.* Kanapathipillai[19] said " having regard to the auspices under which the collection of laws and customs of Jaffna composed, and by whom it was composed, it is difficult to think that the provisions of Roman Dutch Law, did not exercise some influence, and that the idea of a partial community of goods as in the case of 'thediathettam' may not have been strengthened by, if not derived from, the common law of the Dutch Government.

In the Thesawalamai Code itself many rules of Roman Dutch Law masquerade as principles of Thesawalamai. Thus the rule that the husband who has improved the wife's dowry property is not entitled to claim any compensation from the wife's heirs and the corresponding rule that if the wife improved the hereditary property of the husband she is not entitled to claim compensation, are found in the Roman Dutch Law. The principle of Thesawalamai that though gifts between husband and wife are null and void yet to the wife such gifts, if not revoked at the time of the donor, should be given effect to, is traceable to a similar rule in Roman Dutch Law which treated such gifts as a *donatio mortio causa* (see Van Leeuwan 424). The servitude that a neighbour is entitled to the fruits of what grows by itself on his neighbour trees has its parallel in Roman Dutch Law.[20] The greatest influence of the Roman Dutch Law on Thesawalamai is during the British period. Being the residuary Law of the land our courts

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[19] (1928) 29 N.L.R. 301 at 307.
[20] See Grotius 224, 21 ; Herbert 209.

have not hesitated to apply principles of Roman Dutch Law whenever the provisions of the Thesawalamai are silent or obsolete.[21] Reviewing the principles set out in the above cases Scheneider, J., said[22] the principle deduced from the cases on these points may be summarised as follows: (1) the Roman Dutch Law, being the law generally applicable to the whole island, applied where the Thesawalamai is silent; (2) the Roman Dutch Law does not apply even where the Thesawalamai has no express provision if a question can be decided from general principles deduced from the Thesawalamai. From the Dutch period the Roman Dutch Law had been used to supplement the meagre provisions of the Thesawalamai.

The Influence of English Law

English Judges, trained in the principles of English Common Law and Equity have often sought to apply these principles for the clarification of concepts obscure to the Thesawalamai. Thus to give one example Bertram, C.J., found it difficult to express in juristic language the interest a man had in the acquired property of his wife. Although the rules of joint family system found in Indian customary law regarded the husband as the manager of the acquired property and gave him powers of alienation, the adoption of such rules would lead to hardships when property passes into the hands of *bona fide* purchases. Hence in Sellachi *vs.* Visvanathan Chetty,[23] Bertram, C.J., took the view that husband's interest in the wife's acquired property was in the nature of an equitable interest. After stating the principles of English Equity he said (at p. 99) "as I have said these principles *mutatis mutandis*, are capable of application to the conditions of the colony and to the circumstances of the present case."

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[21] The following cases Poothathamby *vs.* Myilvaganam (1897-8) 3 N.L.R. 42; Thevar *vs.* Sivakamipillai 1905, 1. Bal Reparts 201; Kuddiar *vs.* Sinnar 1914, 17 N.L.R. 243; Nagaratnam *vs.* Muthuthamby 1915, 18 N.L.R. 257.

[22] See Chanmugam *vs.* Kandia, 22 N.L.R., 221.

[23] 23 N.L.R. 97.

It is through statute law, many principles of common law found their way into the law of Thesawalamai. Thus, the marital rights between husband and wife, as contained in the Matrimonial Rights and Inheritance Ordinance of Jaffna, (an ordinance specially applicable to persons governed by Thesawalamai) principles of English Law have been introduced to alleviate the rigours of Roman Dutch Law by adapting the more humane equitable principles of English Law on marital rights.

SOURCES OF THESAWALAMAI

The Thesawalamai Code.

The reference to the Law of Thesawalamai in the instructions of Pavilojeon has already been mentioned. A short historical account of its codification may not be out of place. Hendri Zwardecroon, a Commander of Jaffnapatnam and afterwards Governor-General of Netherlands, India in his memoirs written for the guidance of the Council of Jaffnapatnam during his absence from Jaffna, stressed the necessity to codify the Thesawalamai so that the Company's servants who are "poor lawyers" may be guided to administer the law. As a knowledge of these matters cannot be obtained without careful study and experience which everyone will not take the trouble to acquire, he suggested that "it will be well if a concise digest be compiled according to the information supplied by the Chiefs and most impartial slaves"[24]. To accomplish this task he said that no one was better suited than Mr. Claaz Issaczs, Dissawe of Jaffna.[25] These suggestions were acted upon by the Governor Simons and Claaz Isaaczs completed the task of collecting these customs by the 30th of January 1707.

At the request of Claaz Isaacs, the Thesawalamai Code which was in the Dutch Language was translated into

[24] Memoirs of Hendri Zwardecroon, Ceylon Govt. Publication, pp. 40-50.
[25] An official similar to the Government Agent.

Tamil by Jan Pirus and three copies of the Tamil translation were sent to the twelve "leading Mudaliyars" who were selected for this purpose. The twelve "sensible Mudaliyars" affixed their signatures affirming the correctness of the translation subject to a dissent on one particular point. The Mudaliyars complained that it was customary for them to punish recalcitrant slaves but of late these slaves sought refuge under the Magistrate. "Such occurances" said the Mudaliyars "cannot but injure the character of the masters but at the same time render the slaves audacious". They suggested therefore that the powers of punishment be given to them and further asked for a reduction of the amount which they had to pay when the slaves were conveyed to the fort to be put in chains for their misbehaviour. This unreasonable and undemocratic request was refused by Cornelius Joan Simons, Doctor of Laws and Governor of Ceylon, who confirmed the code of laws. On his directions, the Tamil translation of this Code was sent to the Land Court, (Land Road), which functioned in Jaffna for its guidance. In the musty records of the Ceylon Government Archives may be buried many decisions of the Dutch Courts embodying important principles of the Thesawalamai from the year 1707 to 1799.

THE THESAWALAMAI DURING THE BRITISH PERIOD

When Ceylon was ceded to the British by the Dutch, the British, by the proclamation of 1799, guaranteed the people of this country to rule them according to their laws and institutions which existed under the Dutch Government. By a regulation dated 9-12-1806 it was enacted that the "Thesawalamai or the customs of the Malabars of the Province of Jaffna, as collected by the order of Governor Simons should be considered to be in full force and all questions between Malabar inhabitants should be decided according to the said customs"

Reference has already been made to the discovery of Sir Alexander Johnstone that the people of Jaffna were

greatly attached to the Law of Thesawalamai, and treaties on Hindu Law were also used to supplement the provisions of Thesawalamai. Johnstone ordered a fresn translation of the Dutch Code to be made as he did not approve of the 'rude English' of the Dutch translator. The English translation was circulated to various Government officials in the Northern, Eastern and other provinces of Ceylon with the direction that they should report whether the customary usages of the Tamils in the areas in which they served were in accordance with the provisions of the Thesawalamai. In response to this request many replies were received which are of great interest to the legal historian. In these replies, the Agents of the Government set out categorically the customary usages of the Tamils in their respective districts indicating the points of difference whenever they differed from the provisions of the Thesawalamai Code. There was however a consensus of opinion that many of the Tamils of the Vellala caste in the Northern and Eastern Provinces were governed by this system of Law. Thereafter, the English translation was published as a statute and is found in the first edition of the Legislative Enactments in the unexpurgated form. Later editions of the Legislative Enactments have omitted the portions of the Thesawalamai Code which were abrogated in 1844. Many provisions of the Thesawalamai Code have become obsolete by disuse.

The Royal Commission appointed to suggest changes in the law of Thesawalamai recommended that the provisions of Thesawalamai governing adoption[26] should be repealed as they were obsolete. The Legal Draughtsman, Mr. Britto Mutunayagam sounded a note of caution and stated that it will be unsafe to state by legislative measures what portions of the Thesawalamai Code are obsolete and suggested that it will not be prudent to embark on a scheme of scientifically pruning the Code so as to leave it in hand

[26] Part 2 of Tes Code and Part 7 Tes Code Pre-emption and 7 (2) Tes Code, sales of cattle.

so much of the law as today in force. Acting on the Roman Dutch Law that a legislative measure ceases to be law by disuse, our Courts have the power to declare any portion of the Thesawalamai Code obsolete. In order to obtain this declaration, the party who relies on it should lead evidence that any portion of the Code has fallen into disuse or that a contrary practice has developed which is in conflict with some provisions of the Thesawalamai Code.

SOURCES OF THE THESAWALAMAI

The principal source of Thesawalamai is the Dutch Code referred to earlier. The other sources are precedent, statute, law and custom.

Case Law :

Since 1799, Thesawalamai has been developed by case law. Mutukrishna has collected a valuable series of decisions on the Law of Thesawalamai. Some of these are decisions of the lower courts and other decisions of the Supreme Court. The former, although cannot be regarded as authoritative binding precedents, still help to discover some particular customary law which is not contained in the Thesawalamai Code. Some times they help in interpreting some obscure provision of the Thesawalamai Code.

Customary Law :

During the British regime and up to the present times, the Thesawalamai has been developed by precedents. The Supreme Court has laid down principles of Thesawalamai which are binding on the Courts. Some of their decisions have laid down new law, but custom has not ceased to be a source of law. Under the British regime evidence of experts was heard to settle a point of customary law, on which the Thesawalamai Code was either obscure or silent.[27] This practice led to abuses since an expert who

[27] The case of Vyrewendden *vs.* Vinassi ; Kander *vs.* Ramaswamy Mutukrishna p. 298.

is given a fee by a party often would distort the customary law to suit the interests of the party who had summoned him. Hence the Supreme Court discouraged the practice of sending the cases back for purposes of hearing expert evidence. (see Kanapathipillai Theivar *vs.* Valliammai, 4 Tambiah Reports 116). As stated earlier the tendency now is to apply the Roman Dutch Law whenever the Thesawalamai is silent. Still evidence of contrary usage could be led to show that a usage has sprung up which makes some particular provision of the Thesawalamai Code obsolete.[28]

Statutory Modifications

Three important statutes have greatly modified the old Thesawalamai. The Jaffna Matrimonial Rights and Inheritance Ordinances, Jaffna, not only brought about radical changes in the marital rights—regulating the relations between husband and wife but also contained rules governing intestate succession to suit the conditions of the disintegrating joint family system among the Tamils of Jaffna. It proceeded on the footing that ancestral property of the husband and the dowry of the wife belonged to each of them exclusively but the acquired property was vested equally in both spouses. It set out the rules of succession for these three types of property recognising the fundamental principles that property went to descendants, collaterals and descendants in order of priority. It also recognised the usufruct in favour of the surviving spouse over the properties of the minor children devolving from the deceased's father till they became majors or were given in marriage.

In agricultural society where the husband and wife laboured together in the garden or the fields a partnership in the acquired property was an equitable proposition. Due to the spread of education and the finding of avenues

[28] Kander *vs.* Sinatchipillai 36 N.L.R. 362.

of employment in various spheres of life many Jaffna Tamils ceased to follow the pursuits of their forefathers and launched on professional careers. Hence there was a growing agitation that the spouse who was not the bread winner should not have any interest in the acquired property of the other spouse. The Thesawalamai Commission was appointed to look into these grievances and in particular, to suggest ways and means of improving the law of Thesawalamai. After many years of deliberation, the Commission sent their report (see Sessional Paper 3 of 1930) and a supplementary report.[29] They suggested far-reaching changes. They set out the provisions of the Thesawalamai Code which in their views was obsolete, the law of acquired property was revolutionised and new provisions were suggested to govern the law of pre-emption.

Many of these suggestions were implemented by the Legislature by the passing of the Jaffna Matrimonial Rights and Inheritance (Amendment) Ordinance of 1947. This statute, though obscure in parts and difficult of interpretation[30] has laid down new rules governing the rules of pre-emption and has brought about fundamental changes in the concept of acquired property.

From what has been said the Thesawalamai is a blend of the customary laws of the Tamils who migrated from the Western and Eastern coast of India to the Jaffna peninsula. It became moulded and changed by the impact of Hindu Laws, Roman Dutch Law and the English Law, after it was modified by precedent and statute law.

To find the law governing Thesawalamai, one has to go through the tangled growth of precedent and enactment remembering the important principle that the Thesawalamai Code might have become obsolete through disuse or

[29] Sessional paper of Thesawalamai Commission of 1933.
[30] See changing concepts of Thediathettam. Laws and Customs of the Tamils of Ceylon by Dr. H. W. Tambiah, Q.C.

as a result of a later conflicting provision of some statute. The uncertainty of the law leads to many forsenic battles which enables the legal profession to reap a lucrative harvest. It is submitted that there should be a restatement of the Law of Thesawalamai in a statutory form made easily intelligible so that the layman may know his rights under this system of law.

Applicability of Thesawalamai

In dealing with the applicability of Thesawalamai distinction should be made between the part of Thesawalamai which applies only to "Malabar inhabitants of the Province of Jaffna" and that part which applied to all lands situated in the Province of Jaffna whoever may be the owner of the land.[31] It may be convenient to deal with the latter part first.

The form of usufructuary mortgage known as 'Otti', servitudes peculiar to Thesawalamai and pre-emption are matters which effect all lands situated in the "Provinces of Jaffna" creating *Jura in Re Aliena.* These rights, being attached to land, apply to all lands in this area, whether owned by a Tamil, Sinhalese or a foreigner and do not require further consideration.

The Law of Thesawalamai pertaining to subjects like the matrimonial rights of spouses, guardianship, inheritance are matters that apply only to that category of persons who come under the description of "Malabar Inhabitants of the Province of Jaffna" and to their wives during the period of coverture. The Thesawalamai Regulations stated that Thesawalamai applied between the Malabar Inhabitants of the Province of Jaffna or where the defendants answered this description.

The enigmatic phrase "Malabar Inhabitants of the Province of Jaffna" has been the subject matter of various decisions of our Courts. The ingenuity and the subtility

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[31] Suppiah *vs.* Tambiah, 7 N.L.R., 15.

of the legal fraternity have suggested various interpretations, some fanciful, others attractive though not sound, and yet others which are sound.

It was contended that the word "Malabar" was used not only by the British but also by the Dutch to describe a close class Tamils, who were settled down in the Northern Province of Ceylon at the time Ceylon was ceded to Britain, and their descendants, and perhaps to immigrants from the Malabar district in India and not to others although they may be fully fledged Tamils who have made Jaffna their permanent home. This contention was rejected and it was held that the Thesawalamai applies to all Tamils who make the Province of Jaffna their home.

MEANING OF THE TERM 'INHABITANTS OF THE PROVINCE OF JAFFNA'

As observed earlier, Thesawalamai does not apply to all persons who come under the ethnic group described as Jaffna Tamils but only to those who regarded the Province of Jaffna as their permanent home. The vexed question, what is meant by a permanent home, has been the bone of contention in many forsenic battles in the Courts of Ceylon. Many Jaffna Tamils have left their homeland and sought pastures anew to other parts of Ceylon outside the Northern Province and still others are settled down in distant lands like Malaya, India and other parts of the world. The question whether the Thesawalamai applies to them depends on whether they regard themselves as permanent inhabitants of the Province of Jaffna, a geographical unit which we shall discuss later. If this question is answered in the affirmative then they are governed by Thesawalamai. Since the Thesawalamai is a particular system of law the onus is on the party who asserts that this system of law applied to a particular person in derogation to the general law of the Island.[32]

[32] Somasundaram *vs.* Charawanamuttu 1942, 44 N.L.R., p. 1; (1951) Kandiah *vs.* Saraswathy 54 N.L.R. 137.

The Thesawalamai does not apply to Jaffna Tamils who had their permanent home outside Jaffna. Thus in *Spencer vs. Rajaratnam*[33] it was held that the Thesawalamai did not apply to a Jaffna Tamil who contracted an alliance with a Jaffna Tamil in Jaffna but who had his permanent home in Colombo at the time of his marriage. Sometimes it was held that it did not apply to a Jaffna Tamil who, at the time of his marriage had settled down at Chilaw[34] or Colombo.[35] The decision in the Savudranayagam's case[36] is difficult to understand. In this case, a Colombo Chetty who settled down in Jaffna before his marriage and who married a Jaffna Tamil lady was held not to be governed by Thesawalamai. Dr. Paul Pieris who heard this case in the District Court, held that Mr. Britto was not a Tamil. He said that Colombo Chetties had mingled themselves so much that it is difficult to say to which community they belong. The Supreme Court affirmed this finding of facts. It is submitted that this decision may be right so far as the facts go but it cannot be cited for the proposition that in a case where a Colombo Chetty has made the Northern Province of Ceylon as his permanent home he is not governed by Thesawalamai.

The Thesawalamai does not apply to Jaffna Tamils who had their permanent home outside the Province of Jaffna. Thus in *Spencer vs. Rajaratnam*[37] it was held that the Thesawalamai does not apply to a Jaffna Tamil who had settled down at Chilaw and in *Somasunderampillai vs. Charavanamuttu*[38] the view was taken that it did not apply to a Jaffna Tamil who contracted an alliance with a Jaffna Tamil in Jaffna but who had his permanent home in Colombo at the time of his marriage.

In considering the question whether the Thesawalamai applies to a married man, the crucial question is to deter-

33 Spencer *vs.* Rajaratnam, 16 N.L.R. 321.
34 Fernando *vs.* Proctor, 12 N.L.R. or
35 Colombo Spencer *vs.* Rajaratnam, 16 N.L.R. 321.
36 1913, 20 N.L.R. 274.
37 16 N.L.R. 321.
38 1942, 44 N.L.R. 1.

mine whether the permanent home was the Northern Province of Ceylon at the time of marriage.[39] If a husband had his permanent home outside the Province of Jaffna at the time of marriage the Thesawalamai does not apply to him.

The Province of Jaffna

The precise geographical limits of the Province of Jaffna, an expression used in the Regulation that declared Thesawalamai to be in force to the Malabar Inhabitants of the said area, was at one time a matter of conjecture. As stated earlier, the Thesawalamai was only applied to Tamils who lived in the Province of Jaffna and its neighbouring islands. On Lt. Commander Nagel's suggestions it was applied to the Wanni Districts. Before the Thesawalamai was applied to this area of the Vannias (a warrior caste among the Tamils, see Raghavan) the laws and customs of the Vannias were applied to this area.[40]

Once the Dutch applied the Thesawalamai to the Wanni Districts, its application spread to the Vellala Tamils of the Eastern Province. From the despatches of Sir Alexander Johnstone it is clear that it applied with slight modifications to all Tamils (other than the Mukkuwas, Colombo Chettis and the Parawas) who lived in the North, Eastern and North Western Provinces of Ceylon.

Although the Supreme Court decided that the Thesawalamai applied to the Tamils of the Wannar Districts[41] the view was taken that it does not apply to the Tamils of the Eastern Province. In taking the view that the Thesawalamai does not apply to the Tamils of the Eastern Province, the Supreme Court relied on the Report of Grenier who equated the term 'the Province of Jaffna' to the

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[39] See Velupillai *vs.* Sivakamipillai (1910) 13 N.L.R. 74 and Somasundaram Pillai *vs.* V. Charavanamuttu (1942) 44 N.L.R. 1.

[40] For this collection see *The Laws and Customs of Ceylon* by Dr. H. W. Tambiah.

[41] Wellapulla *vs.* Sitampalam 1872-76 Ram Rep. p. 114.

'Northern Provinces of Ceylon', a premise which is not warranted and not supported by the despatches of Sir Alexander Johnstone. The Royal Commission appointed to report on Thesawalamai, on incorrect premises stated that the Province of Jaffna comprised more or less of the present Northern Province. The Matrimonial Rights and Inheritance Ordinance and the Married Women's Properties Ordinance, by enacting that these ordinances do not apply to Tamils of the Northern Province by necessary implications, made it applicable to Tamils of other parts of Ceylon. Hence any doubts and conjectures are now settled by statute and the personal part of Thesawalamai applies, only to the Tamils of the Northern Province of Jaffna.

To sum up, the personal part of Thesawalamai applies to all Tamils having Ceylon domicile whose permanent home is in the Northern Province of Ceylon.

News and Notes

SIR JOHN MARSHALL DEAD

The death was announced at London on 18th August, 1958 of Sir John Hubert Marshall, Director-General of Archaeology in India from 1902 to 1931. He was 82.

Born on 19th March, 1876 in Chester, Sir John Hubert Marshall had a brilliant academic career. He had his education at Dulwich and King's College, Cambridge. As a Cambridge scholar, he secured a first class in Classical Tripos. He was also a Birdwood Memorial Gold Medallist of the Royal Society of Arts as well as a Triennial Gold Medallist of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain. His publications include "A Guide to Sanchi", "A Guide to Taxila", "Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilisation" and the "Buddhist Art of Gandhara". He was also editor and part author of "Annual Reports of Archaeological Survey of India".

—*The Hindu.*

RESEARCH IN TAMIL

Inaugurating the Mylai Tamil Sangham on 17th August, 1958 Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar pleaded for giving active encouragement to research in Tamil. He expressed the hope that the starting of the Sangham would not only result in an active pursuit of literary and artistic glories of the South, but would also lead to archaeological and literary research to rediscover their ancient glory.

Dr. Ramaswami Aiyar formally released on the occasion the popular editions of *Ahananooru* and *Purananooru* and *Pattum Thogaiyum* (a glossary and index) published

by Mr. S. Rajam of the Murray and Company. These three publications complete a series of ten volumes of Sangham literature, the publication of which began in 1955.

Mr. P. V. Rajamannar, Chief Justice of the Madras High Court, who participated in the function, referred to the greatness of the ancient Tamil classics and said that the main duty of the Sangham and other similar organisations should be the publication of popular editions of some of these classics in order to bring out the beauty of the language for the benefit of the masses.

The Srinivasa Sastri Hall in Mylapore, where the function was held, was packed with Tamil scholars and lovers of Tamil. The proceedings commenced with a prayer song from *Purananooru* by Mr. D. Pasupathi.

Mr. T. M. Krishnaswami Aiyar, President of the Sangham at the outset, welcomed the gathering.

Inaugurating the Sangham, Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar said that Mylapore had been associated with culture for many centuries and the function marked only the revival or renaissance of a Tamil Sangham in that place. He explained the cultural importance of Tamil Nad and the greatness of Tamil literature, and said that he could say that, for expression and for complete merger of the individual with the Supreme Soul there were no poems in the world, which could equal Tamil lyrics. Especially in the matter of Saiva Siddhanta one found a clarity of thought and a directness of approach, which probably transcended many parallel works in Sanskrit literature. But, he remarked, it was futile and idle to contrast one Indian language with another, particularly two ancient languages like Sanskrit and Tamil. He said that these controversies were dangerous and pernicious and added that these sister languages had helped each other and there had been no jealousy between them from the beginning. But there had been one matter in which the Tamil genius

and Tamil literature had been perhaps unique in Eastern life and that was the fullness of existence which Tamil literature had envisaged and encouraged, he observed.

ANTHOLOGIES OF VERSES

Referring to *Ahananooru* and *Purananooru*, the publications of which were released on the occasion, Dr. Ramaswami Aiyar said that it would be useful to note that the earliest books they had were anthologies of previous verses. which meant that many generations should have elapsed before these anthologies could be compiled. It showed that the original Sangham literature was really anterior to these works (the publications of which were released today) and these might be said to be modern reductions of ancient poems. The Tamil poet did not turn his face away from the facts, the necessities and the irreplaceable demands of human nature and these poems dealt with all aspects of human life, he said. They also related to the active love and encouragement of literature by the various kingdoms and patrons, which showed that in the past there was a recognition of the value of literature in the sum total of human happiness. The glossary and index volume that was being released contained a list of important words and authors of Sangham literature, quotable passages from that literature and also a kind of an extract of customs and manners of those days. He thought that the book of research was only a symbol of the things that should have to come. What was needed was not mere talking of the greatness of Tamil, but active encouragement of research, he said.

Dr. Ramaswami Aiyar, in conclusion, said that the South had an ancient, hoary and worthwhile civilisation and that culture was part of the life of the country here at times, when culture was not very much in vogue elsewhere. Even now there were places like Kancheepuram, where excavations by the Archaeological Department, if

carried out, would probably bring to light most wonderful specimens of their culture. He hoped that the Tamil Sangham would take steps to impress upon the Government the need for rediscovering the glory and monuments of the past, for preserving the literary monuments of the present and to work for the rehabilitation and regeneration of the Tamil literature and culture of the future.

Dr. Ramaswami Aiyar then presented to Mr. Rajamannar the volumes of *Ahananooru, Puranaoooru* and *Pattum Thogaiyum* to mark the release of the publications.

Addressing the gathering, Mr. Rajamannar said that the more one came to know of a literature, particularly an ancient literature like Tamil, the more the extent of one's ignorance became manifest. The ancient Tamil classics, he said, contained marvellous specimens of Indian poetry. The great poets of the past had realised the fullness of life and that was why they found in their ancient classics of any language the poets dealing with even subjects like sex. However, the way in which they dealt with sex was different from what was found in the journals, which had rapid sales now. Apart from their cultural value, their ancient classics had even a lesson to the modern Government. These poems brought home to them that the monarchs and noblemen of the past had always taken pride in extending their patronage to poets. They reminded the Governments, whether it be a monarchy or a republican form of Government—of their duty in regard to poets, he said.

Mr. T. P. Meenakshisundaram said that the ancient Tamil classics dealt with all aspects of human life and they belonged not only to the people of Tamil Nad, but to the entire humanity. It was their duty to make them known to the people outside and he conmmended the efforts made in this direction. He, however, pointed out that in the matter of preparing an exhaustive index of all ancient works in Tamil, there was duplication of effort by a number

of agencies, and suggested that steps should be taken to co-ordinate their work.

Mr. M. P. Sivagnana Gramani said that revival of culture should naturally follow political independence and emphasised that steps should be taken in that direction. He spoke of the valuable information contained in the Tamil classics and requested the people of Tamil Nad to translate into practice the high ideals contained in them, particularly in *Purananooru.*

Srimathi Soundaram Kailasam proposed a vote of thanks.

—*The Hindu,* August 19, 1958.

KATTABOMMAN DAY CELEBRATED

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari stated here that the main object in observing the days of national heroes like Kattabomman was to preserve the hard-won freedom and appealed to the people of Tamil Nad not to indulge in controversy as to whether Kattabomman was a Tamilian or an Andhra, but get inspiration from his struggle against foreign rule.

Mr. Rajagopalachari, who addressed a meeting organised by the Madras District Tamil Arasu Kazhagam on 16th October, 1958 to celebrate the Kattabomman Day at St. Mary's Hall, George Town, spoke in Tamil. He said that, though he was not well, he had decided to participate in the meeting and pay his homage to Kattabomman, who raised a revolt against British rule in Tamil Nad. Before him, Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan had also fought the British. It was their duty to pay their homage to all those who had contributed so much to the freedom struggle and the main object in celebrating the anniversaries of those patriots was to pay the respect and homage due to those who fought and died for freedom in the early days.

In this connection, Mr. Rajagopalachari touched on the controversy in Tamil Nad referred to by previous speakers as to whether Kattabomman was a Tamilian or an Andhra. He pointed out that many Andhras had migrated to Tamil Nad and settled in this part of the country. They had not only made Tamil their mother-tongue, but had contributed a great share to the enrichment of that language. So, could they say that because those people came from Andhra, they were not Tamilians? He also deprecated the tendency to decry the achievements of one patriot by extolling another. He advised admiration of both or as many as came up for notice.

The life of Kattabomman, Mr. Rajagopalachari said, had been popularised among the villagers after his death through folk songs during the past 150 years or so. It was because they were under foreign domination, that they were not able to celebrate their martyrdom more elaborately. But now that they had become independent, they were justly paying their homage by celebrating his day and he expressed the hope that people would pay their homage to the departed patriots without indulging in controversies.

COURSES IN TAMIL AND TELUGU IN ALIGARH

Courses of instruction in Tamil and Telugu will be started at the Aligarh University from the next academic year, Col. B. H. Zaidi, Vice-Chancellor of the University told P.T.I. on 27th October, 1958.

He said that the Government of India and the University Grants Commission had approved of the proposal and sanctioned an initial grant.

"I am hoping for a good response from North Indian students to these courses," Col. Zaidi said.

Col. Zaidi said that India's emotional integration could be brought about only when the people of the North also learned South Indian languages which possessed a glorious heritage. The Aligarh University proposed to invite top Tamil aind Telugu scholars to lecture to North Indian students about the linguistic culture of the South.

A large number of students from South India were now joining the Aligarh University, the largest contingent being from Kerala. There was a growing demand for teaching Southern languages from those students too.

—*The Hindu.*

NEW FINDS CONFIRM EXTENSIVE AREA COVERED BY THE INDUS VALLEY CULTURE

A small mound in obscure Lothal, a village in Ahmedabad District, is today attracting the attention of archaeologists as the only site in India revealing the mature, urban civilisation which flourished in the Indus Valley, more than 4,000 years ago.

Besides the usual types of Harappa antiquities, such as seals, earnthen and bronze vessels and stone blades and weights, excavations have yielded terracotta seal impresses and a distinct ceramic ware known as Black and Red ware. An important structure unearthed was a large kiln built on a platform. A hoard of *seventy-five* terracotta seal impresses bore images of the Indus script and animal figures. Seal impresses have not been found either at Harappa or Mohenjo-Daro and their occurrence at Lothal is attributed to their probable use on packages of merchandise exported thence. Lothal is believed to have been a flourishing port 4,000 years ago and probably had maritime contacts with Egypt, Mesopotamia, Crete and Sumer.

The arts of painting, clay-modelling, etching, engraving, and metal-casting were highly developed, while the exquisite filigree work of jewellers 4,000 years ago still

commands attention. A necklace of microscopic gold and steatite beads has been found. Lothal has revealed, further, beautifully finished beads of topaz, agate, cornelian, jasper, sell, ivory and faience. The art of painting earthen vessels was also highly developed, with ingenious motifs. The colour scheme was usually black over red, or chocolate over buff. As at Mohenjo-Daro, the entire vessel surface was often painted and the designs repeated. The peacock, deer, stag, snake, sparrow, pipal leaf and palm tree are some of the naturalistic designs painted on Lothal vessels.

—*Illustrated Weekly of India*, September 14, 1958.

ANNUAL GENERAL BODY MEETING OF THE ACADEMY OF TAMIL CULTURE, MADRAS

The fourth Annual General Body Meeting of the Academy of Tamil Culture was held at the Teachers' College Lecture Hall, Saidapet on the 31st August, 1958 and the following office-bearers were elected for the year 1958-1959.

President :

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice N. Somasundaram.

Vice-Presidents :

Mr. Karumuthu Thiagarajan Chettiar,
The Hon'ble Mr. Justice V. Subramaniam,
Dr. R. P. Sethu Pillai, and
Mr. A. Subbiah.

Hony. Secretaries :

Mr. K. Kodandapani Pillai, and
Mr. C. Amritaganesan.

Hony. Treasurers :

Mr. V. S. Thyagaraja Mudaliar, and
Prof. V. Shanmugasundaram.

Following the business meeting there was a public meeting attended by several Tamil scholars, Professors and students of B.T. College. Dr. M. Varadarajan, Head of the Department of Tamil, Pachaiyappa's College, presided over the meeting. In his introductory remarks Dr. Varadarajan said that 'the greatness of Tamil language and literature was recognised by many foreign research scholars. While the Tamils did not want to boast themselves as the inheritors of a language superior to others, an enquiring mind would not raise the controversy of a language being high or low, but would let the truth speak for itself. Pleading for the promotion of research in the Tamil language and literature, he urged that lovers of the language should also help the growth of that language by translating the ancient works therein in other languages, especially in English.'

Mr. K. Ramalingam, Special Officer for the Implementation of the Madras State Official Language (Tamil) Act, said that 'the strength of a language did not depend upon absorption of words from other languages but on making the language itself easily understood by the people. In this context he felt the need for maintaining a certain amount of uniformity in the use of words which were differently spoken in different regions. If instead they allowed the use of Tamil words as used in different regions of Tamilnad itself for purposes of official use, it would lead to a division of Tamilnad into three different regions if not more, and it would be difficult to carry on the administration in the Tamil language.'

Mr. P. Thirugnanasambandam, Professor of Sanskrit, Presidency College who then addressed the gathering stressing on the need for a study of the Tamil language from the comparative and historical point of view observed as follows :

A study of the Tamil language from the comparative angle would mean a study of Tamil of a particular

era with the corresponding cognate languages of the Dravidian family and Sanskrit. The other approach would be historical in character whereby we study the development of Tamil from one era to another, to wit, the language of the Sangham epoch may be compared with the language of the period of Kambar and again with the language of the modern era. This approach would enable us to understand how the language has progressed, how certain forms and expressions have either changed in their complexion and content or disappeared and how certain others have come into being, what influences were at work in bringing about these changes, etc. He made reference to the pioneering efforts made by savants like Dr. Caldwell in the past and Dr. Kamil Zvelebil in the present day in this direction and stressed the need for scholars in the language to break new ground in this field on the scientific lines developed in the West by adopting objective methods and tests. He also referred to the vast strides made in this direction in regard to Sanskrit which attracted the attention of a host of philologists all over Europe for nearly two centuries as Sanskrit happened to be an Indo-European language and stressed the need for collaboration among the linguists of Dravidian languages if a comparative grammar of the Dravidian languages is to be attempted as it ought to be on similar lines.

He also pointed out the plausibility of the theory held by Mr. T. Burrow. Professor of Sanskrit, University of Oxford and others regarding the existence of the Dravidian and Austric languages prior to the advent of the Aryans and the possible interchange of ideas and expressions between that old Dravidian language then in vogue in North India and Sanskrit even during the Vedic period. In this connection, he observed that borrowing from one language to another can never be an one-way traffic so long as people speaking two different languages have got to live together and that in the same manner as Tamil has borrowed several expressions, ideas and forms from

Sanskrit in some measure at one period or another, so in Sanskrit several ideas, expressions and forms must have crept in from the Dravidian and other languages spoken in the North before the former was pushed down south. In this connection he cited certain words like 'elam' in Tamil and Sanskrit meaning '*cardamom*', 'kalam' in Tamil and 'khala' in Sanskrit meaning 'threshing floor', 'pandu' meaning 'ripen' in Telugu and 'Pandita' in Sanskrit meaning 'ripe in wisdom', etc. given by Prof. Burrow in his book "The Sanskrit Language".

Mr. M. R. Perumal who spoke next said:

Tamilians are bound to be happy when they review the huge strides that have been made in the development of Tamil as a modern language. It has become the first language for study in the Secondary schools. Time was when a student could pass the S.S.L.C. examination without studying Tamil as a language in the six years of the Secondary school course. But today, the study of Tamil has been made *compulsory* in the Secondary school curriculum. Consequent on the importance given to Tamil in the Secondary school, the teachers of Tamil also have risen in status and their emoluments too have been increased. Tamil has become the medium of instruction in the Secondary schools replacing English. The above changes have inevitably led to the adoption of Tamil as the official language of the State. This is a very important and very significant change. India cannot be said to have achieved complete independence from foreign rule unless and until the language of administration in every State of the Union is the same as the language of the people of that State.

The above developments have taken place as a result of Governmental action. Let us now see what have been the achievements in the private sector, if I may divide the achievements as those of the public sector and those of the private sector. Recent years have seen the establishment of a large number of newspapers and periodicals in

Tamil and some of them enjoy a very large circulation. There are a number of writers in Tamil whose essays, short stories, novels and poems are really good and can stand comparison with those of writers in other modern languages. This should not however blind us to the defects found in the language written by some of the so-called renaissance writers. They have had no grounding in the grammar and idiom of the language with the result that they write a sort of language which is completely alien to the genius of Tamil which has had a continuous and continuing tradition for about three thousand years. The newspapers and magazines are the greatest offenders in this respect. It is to be hoped however that the journalists will, in the not distant future, realise the need for a thorough grounding in the grammar and idiom of the language and will also have the necessary attachment to the purity and chastity of the language so that they will desist from consciously or unconsciously debasing the language by the use of words, phrases and turns of expression which are either incorrect or belong to other languages.

It is no doubt necessary to introduce Tamil classics to world audiences by translating Tamil works into English and other modern languages. But even this is not half as important as the urgent need to adopt Tamil as the medium of instruction in the University classes. I do realise that there are certain difficulties which have to be overcome before Tamil can take the place of English as the medium of education in the University. But, to my mind, difficulties are there only to be overcome and it is absolutely necessary to take immediate steps to develop Tamil to suit the needs of higher education. Tamil cannot be said to have attained its full stature unless and until it becomes the medium of education in colleges.

The first step in this direction is to adopt Tamil as the medium of instruction in Training Colleges which prepare teachers for Secondary schools. I am proud to say that the Teachers' College, Saidapet has taken the lead

in the matter and is teaching the optional subjects of the B.T. course in Tamil. Half a dozen other colleges in the State have followed this example of the Saidapet college. The necessary technical terms have been prepared and some books are also being written to facilitate the early adoption of the Tamil medium for teaching the general subjects of the B.T. course also.

The Chairman, in his concluding remarks, urged the need for unity and sustained effort on the part of the Tamils to preserve and propagate the language which had stood the test of time. The decadence of Tamil in the recent past, he said, was due to the fact that writers in the language did not devote thought and attention to production of books imparting knowledge to the readers but were content to produce books appealing to the emotions. He felt that the replacement of English by Hindi would lead to the extinction of the place for Tamil. The "Quit India" movement, he said, referred to the quitting of the English people and not of their language which had a special place in the development of cultural unity and should be encouraged by the establishment of separate colleges while making Tamil the medium of instruction in this region.

The meeting ended with a vote of thanks proposed by Mr. K. Kodandapani Pillai.

EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS

AN APPRECIATION OF OUR JOURNAL— "TAMIL CULTURE"

"The articles are at once scholarly and well informed, and make satisfying reading. The Rev. Dr. Thani Nayagam may well be proud of having brought into being so worthy a journal to serve so worthy a cause. May long life and prosperity attend it."

M. S. H. THOMPSON,
14, Norman Avenue, Twickenham, Middlesex, England.

WHAT A PROFESSOR OF SANSKRIT IN A WESTERN UNIVERSITY THINKS OF THE IMPORTANCE OF TAMIL LITERATURE:

Writing to the Chief Editor, *Tamil Culture,* on September 8, 1958, Mr. F. B. J. Kuiper, Professor of Sanskrit in the Leiden University, says:

"Since many years I am trying to introduce the study of Tamil besides that of Sanskrit in the Leiden University, because I am convinced that a knowledge of Tamil literature is indispensable for a right evaluation of the Indian civilisation."

Transliteration of Tamil Phonemes* into English

VOWELS

அ	—	a	(as in among)
ஆ	—	a:	(,, calm)
இ	—	i	(,, sit)
ஈ	—	i:	(,, machine)
உ	—	u	(,, full)
ஊ	—	u:	(,, rule)
எ	—	e	(,, fed)
ஏ	—	e:	(,, able)
ஐ	—	ai	(,, aisle)
ஒ	—	o	(,, opinion)
ஓ	—	o:	(,, opium)
ஔ	—	au	(,, now)

CONSONANTS

				Hints re: articulation
Hard[1] (Plosive)	க	—	k	(as in king, angle, alhambra)
	ச	—	c	(,, church, angel, calcium)
	ட	—	t:	(,, card ?)....Retroflex - articulate with **blade** of tongue.
	த	—	th	(,, threat, this, thick)....dental.
	ப	—	p	(,, pipe, amber)
	ற	—	t	(,, atlas, sunday, arrears)..Retroflex- *articulate with tip of tongue.*
Soft (Nasal)	ங	—	ng	(,, sing)....velar n
	ஞ	—	nj	(,, angel)....palatal n
	ண	—	n:	(,, urn ?)....Retroflex n - articulate with **blade** of tongue.
	ந	—	nh	(,, anthem)....dental n
	ம	—	m	(,, mate)
	ன	—	n	(,, enter)....Retroflex n - articulate with **tip** of tongue.
Medium (non-nasal continuant)	ய	—	y	(,, yard)
	ர	—	r	(,, red)
	ல	—	l	(,, leave)....Alveolar l - articulate with **tip** of tongue.
	வ	—	v	(,, very)
	ழ	—	l-	(,, ?)....Retroflex l - *articulate* with **blade** of tongue.
	ள	—	l:	(,, hurl)....Alveolar l - articulate with **blade** of tongue.
Auxiliary[2] (ஆய்தம்)	ஃ	—	x	(,, ahead)

* The Tamil phonemes may for practical purposes be treated as having single allophones only, except in the case of the hard consonants which have four allophones each, as shown in note 1 on the reverse.

1. The Phonemes, classified as *hard,* have normally an *unaspirated unvoiced* value but acquire the following modified values if preceded by a consonant:—

   (a) a *slightly aspirated* unvoiced value, if preceded by a *plosive or hard consonant.*

   e.g., பக்கம் – is pronounced pakkham, not pakkam

   (b) an unaspirated but *voiced* value, if preceded by a *nasal or soft consonant*:—

   e.g., பங்கம் – is pronounced pangam, not pankam
   பஞ்சம் – „ panjam, not pancam,

   (c) a *fricative* value if preceded by a *non-nasal continuant or medium consonant or by the auxiliary consonant.*

   e.g., பல்கலை becomes palhalai not palkalai
   எஃகு „ ehhu not exku

NOTE.—In most present day dialects, the plosive assumes a fricative —sometimes a voiced—value after a vowel also, except in the case of t: which retains its normal unaspirated, unvoiced value even after avowel.

2. The value of this *auxiliary* phoneme, which must *always* be followed by a hard consonant, was variable during the time of Tholkappiam; it acquired a phonetic value identical with that of the following hard consonant, vide 1 (c) above,

   e.g., எஃகு became ehhu

   Later its value became fixed as h, irrespective of the following consonant.

Note. (i) With a view to keep down transliteration to the minimum it is suggested that, in the case of Tamil words which are already in free use in English (e.g., Tamil = Thamil), or where it is unnecessary to indicate the exact pronunciation, accurate transliteration need not be resorted to. In the case of proper names etc., which occur more than once in the same article, the transliteration need be shown only once in brackets side by side with a free English adaptation, the latter alone being used subsequently, except of course in cases where such a procedure will lead to ambiguity,

e.g., வேங்கடம் = Vengadam (Ve:ngkat:am).

(ii) Reference may be made to *Tamil Culture,* Vol. IV, No. 1 (January 1955 issue) pp. 58-73 for fuller details.

THE TAMIL SCRIPT

(This table is given for the guidance of those who wish to read Tamil texts which often appear in TAMIL CULTURE)

Vowels	Vowel symbols attached to preceding consonant.	Hard consonants						Soft consonants						Medium consonants					
		k	c	t:	th	p	t	ng	nj	n:	nh	m	n	y	r	l	v	l-	l:
அ a	nil	க	ச	ட	த	ப	ற	ங	ஞ	ண	ந	ம	ன	ய	ர	ல	வ	ழ	ள
ஆ a:	ா to the right of the consonant	கா					றா			ணா			னா						
இ i	ி to be *joined* at the top—right of consonant	கி																	
ஈ i:	ீ to be *joined* at the top—right of consonant	கீ																	
உ u	a semi-circle ( ), a vertical stroke (or a loop ‿ to be *joined* to the bottom	கு	சு	டு	து	பு	று	ஙு	ஞு	ணு	நு	மு	னு	யு	ரு	லு	வு	ழு	ளு
ஊ u:	Same as for u, but with an additional stroke or loop	கூ	சூ	டூ	தூ	பூ	றூ	ஙூ	ஞூ	ணூ	நூ	மூ	னூ	யூ	ரூ	லூ	வூ	ழூ	ளூ
எ e	ெ to the left of the consonant	கெ																	
ஏ e:	ே to the left of the consonant	கே																	
ஐ ai	ை to the left of the consonant	கை								ணை			னை			லை			ளை
ஒ o	ெ to the left & ா to the right of the consonant	கொ					றொ			ணொ			னொ						
ஓ o	ே to the left & ா to the right	கோ					றோ			ணோ			னோ						
ஔ au	ெ to the left & ள to the right	கௌ																	
மெய் pure consonants	A dot · on the top of the consonant	க்																	

Note —(1) The vowels are written as shown in the first vertical column

(2) The consonants are written as shown in the horizontal columns, with a symbol or symbols indicating the vowel immediately following. A consonant followed by the vowel அ (a) has no symbol, while the pure consonant not followed by a vowel has a dot on top

(3) All the eighteen vowel consonants under க (k) are shown as a guide; in other cases only the irregular forms are shown, the rest being exactly similar to those shown under க (k), excepting for trivial differences in a few cases which might safely be ignored

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